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Chinks of light in the Iron Curtain

DIE ZEIT

Thousands of Germans have come west over the past few months from East Germany to the Federal Republic.

Dogmatic members of the East German leadership have long clamoured for the Soviet Union to end this.

A decision now seems to have been taken in the Kremlin. *Pravda* has become more aggressive.

An astute Western correspondent in the Soviet capital could well have penned these words in August 1961 just before the Berlin Wall was built.

What about the present? The situation right now has much in common with 1961. Thousands of GDR citizens have come over to the West in recent months.

Dogmatic members of the Kremlin leadership have for some time been keen on stemming the tide of intra-German ties and Herr Honecker's pleas for a common responsibility shared by the two German states.

They are also keen to see limits set to the independent detente policy pursued by Hungary, the GDR, Bulgaria and Rumania.

The Soviet Union first sent its Migs flying over Berlin, then aimed and fired propaganda barbs in the Czech Party newspaper *Rude Pravo.*

There could be no such thing as an independent ideological course in the foreign policies of individual socialist countries, the paper's leader-writer thundered.

Over Easter *Pravda* and Mr Gromyko nailed their colours to the mast, recalling the Brezhnev Doctrine just before the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers' and Military Council conference in Budapest.

By referring to the former Soviet leader's policy of limited sovereignty for East Bloc countries they made it clear they intended to impose a damper on their Eastern European allies' Westpolitik.

1961 and 1984 are poles apart. Eastern Europeans are no longer prepared to be confined to barracks.

Russia has totally overstretched itself, so keen is it to gain international recognition. It is in much the same position as it was in the 19th century and in the early 1960s.

As a result its security and alliance policies are now suffering serious setbacks.

The droves of East German refugees and the building of the Berlin Wall nearly 25 years ago were the result of a failed Soviet offensive.

Mr Khrushchev overrated the political importance of Russia's first ICBMs and made the November 1958 Berlin ultimatum in a bid to consolidate Moscow's sphere of influence in Eastern Europe.

He also aimed to force the West to recognise the GDR and to prise the Federal Republic loose from its ties with Nato and its close relationship with Washington.

But he underestimated American determination to offer resistance.

Twenty years later Soviet foreign policy followed a similar pattern. The Soviet Union overrated the value of its new medium-range missiles. It also aimed to prise the Federal Republic loose from its pact and partnership with America in order to prevent Nato missile deployment without having to make the least concession of its own.

It again underestimated American determination and faced yet another fiasco. It made matters worse by deploying further missiles of its own in the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

That forced its own allies into the open. Those who had previously been in the process of discreetly embarking on separate policies now did so openly.

A situation has now arisen in the Warsaw Pact such as has never before existed. This time is is not any one country that is drifting towards a despairing, revolutionary departure from the Soviet syste.

At least four East Bloc countries, the GDR, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria, are undergoing an evolutionary transition to common responsibility for Europe.

It is a carefully coordinated change and not just an isolated move, as in the GDR in 1953, in Hungary and Poland in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Poland again in 1980.

What has taken shape in the past few months seems like a belated echo by the East European leaders to the Sonnenfeldt Doctrine.

According to this doctrine the Soviet Union can only be sure of its glacis in Eastern Europe if it arrives at an "organic" relationship with its Warsaw Pact allies and allows them a little leeway rather than just regarding them as vassals.

This point has been made most clearly by the secretary of the Hungarian central committee, Com. Szürös. He countered the call to order by *Rude Pravo*" and the Soviet warnings of the threat of war with a kind of charter of European glacis and praise for "level-headed bourgeois politicians."

"Europe will surely remain the initiator and continuer of detente policy. That ensues from mutual interest and interdependence . . .

"General de Gaulle in the 1960s defined the quintessence of Franco-Soviet

Continued on page 2



Thai leader in Bonn

The Prime Minister of Thailand, General Prem Tinsulanonda (right) in Bonn with German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Kampuchea was the main topic in the General's talks with Herr Genscher and Bonn President Karl Carstens.

(Photo: Bundesbildstelle)

Reagan nudges open the gateway to Peking

KielerNachrichten

When President Nixon flew to Peking in February 1972 with the declared aim of decisively improving Sino-American relations the world sat up and took notice.

Richard Nixon even in those days wasn't exactly felt to be the most sea-green incorruptible of politicians, but his political and diplomatic acumen was highly regarded even in the East.

He may not have achieve tangible results in Peking, but the opening of a door that had been shut for decades was still of historic significance.

So President Reagan would have had a hard time outperforming his predecessor, especially as he was so clearly visiting China in an election year.

Mr Reagan needs to notch up successes both as President and as a candidate for the Presidency, and domestic successes are not enough.

His Western allies are by no means in full agreement with his policy. They feel it lacks flexibility, while the Kremlin would like nothing better than to see the President come a cropper.

There would be less danger from the Soviet point of view of Moscow's hostile brother in Peking gaining in strength economically and politically with the aid of the capitalist class enemy.

The Russians would also be sure to see an opportunity of driving fresh wedges into the Western alliance.

What chances did Mr Reagan have of making headway in Peking? The agreement on atomic energy could certainly prove a lucrative source of business for US companies.

But what matters most in terms of world affairs is the climate of relations between the two countries, and any improvement presupposes rapprochement on a wide range of issues.

Taiwan and reciprocal relations with the Soviet Union are but two of many. If only President Reagan had combined in Peking both his own determination and a little of Mr Nixon's political acumen!

Axel Ostrowski

(Kieler Nachrichten, 27 April 1984)

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Soviet shipbuilding chickens come home to roost

Disarmament bids that might get somewhere tend to be quiet and unspectacular. Mr Gromyko's polite letter to UN secretary-general Perez de Cuellar is promising in this respect.

It was written just before Easter and aimed in reality at the US government. In it the Soviet Foreign Minister said Moscow was ready to hold talks on naval disarmament by the superpowers.

The way in which the opening shots have been called shows that Mr Gromyko is serious about the proposal.

It would not be the first time American and Soviet diplomats have held talks on naval policy. They made lasting and meaningful headway 12 years ago.

Agreement was reached on avoiding incidents on the high seas. It has worked so well that it might well be expanded and extended.

This is one sector in which the much-vaunted concept of confidence-building has proved successful.

That is more than can be said for Soviet hopes in the 1970s of negotiating the US Navy, or at least its most power-

Frankfurter Allgemeine

ful fighting ships, out of the Mediterranean and the north-west of the Indian Ocean.

The Soviet leaders are most upset that important areas of the Soviet Union are within reach of American nuclear submarines and naval aircraft from these locations.

Mr Gromyko refers to this old Soviet objective in his letter; he has never struck any Soviet objective, no matter how hopeless, from his list.

But what he currently has in mind is something different. He wants to negotiate with the United States on a limitation of naval forces and means.

What reasons may prompt the Soviet Union to raise this issue at present?

Soviet naval armament, embarked on in earnest under Admiral Gorshkov more than 20 years ago, has reached an enormous level in terms of both tonnage and the number of units.

The Red Fleet is now in a position to operate on a global basis, as it demonstrates from time to time, usually every five years by means of large-scale manoeuvres far from its home ports.

Its aim is credibly to demonstrate Soviet ability to wage war by means of nuclear submarines capable of carpeting continental America with missiles and blockading Western sea routes.

It also wants to be able to threaten to stage landing operations along all Western European coasts and, above all, to show itself capable of protecting the Soviet Union from sea-based enemy action.

A Third World War is in any case unlikely. The question it is all the more important to ask is what the Red Fleet is capable of accomplishing in peacetime and semi-peace.

Relying mainly on Soviet nuclear submarines, is the Red Fleet capable of serving the Kremlin as an instrument of foreign policy?

In at least two respects it leaves much to be desired where this is concerned. One is that it is not much use for showing the flag, in other words the time-honoured tradition of gunboat diplomacy.

You can't see submarines unless they are shipwrecked or stranded on a neutral coast after a failed espionage bid.

Surface vessels ranging from anti-submarine ships to medium-sized helicopter carriers in the Kiev class, auxiliary vessels and small fighting ships equipped with missiles to attack larger vessels: all fail to impress the Third World.

They are not impressive enough for show purposes and still less effective at lending credibility to the Soviet claim to be able to flex naval muscle anywhere in the world.

Large surface ships are indispensable to project power in this way, not to mention reliable and accessible port facilities on many coasts. Soviet sea power sadly lacks them both.

Two main criteria are important for any assessment of Soviet naval strength. One is that Soviet ships and naval units can only operate for short periods at any distance from their home ports.

The other is that the Russians regularly have to revise their shipbuilding programmes, and it is always a revision that entails building categories of vessel that were previously undesirable because they were felt to be too expensive.

They will soon be commissioning their first large aircraft carriers in the 70,000-ton class, and they can't afford to make do with just one.

A navy that was aimed at staking a claim to sea power by means of particularly inexpensive vessels is now having to build the most expensive of them all. Fifteen years ago Admiral Gorshkov expressly said there could be no question of building large-scale Soviet aircraft carriers.

But his shipbuilding policy is showing signs of age. So is he.

Small wonder Mr Gromyko is starting to pen polite letters and try to persuade the overwhelming naval great power to hold serious talks.

He would have done better to do so in the early days of Mr Carter's Presidency. A US naval shipbuilding programme has since begun with which the Soviet Union cannot hope to keep pace.

It will not even be able to hold its own at an equal distance from the US Navy unless agreement is reached soon. American naval power is stronger.

So there can be no question of drawing level with it or edging it out of areas strategically close to the Soviet border or to Third World regions.

But there is no reason why the United States should not be prepared to consider arms limitation at sea, especially when costs could be cut.

Ernst-Otto Maetzke

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 April 1984)

Warsaw Pact ministers pose a puzzle over missiles

Frankfurter Rundschau

The Budapest conference of Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers may not have come up with anything sensational, but it did pose a minor political puzzle.

Ever since the new medium-range US missiles have been stationed in Western Europe Moscow has stressed that it will only resume the Geneva talks if the United States withdraws its Pershing 2 and cruise missiles and restores the status quo.

The Budapest communiqué could be taken to mean that the Warsaw Pact countries are prepared to resume negotiations if only the West deploys no more new medium-range missiles in Europe.

If it really is a genuine offer by the East it would still only stand any chance of success if the West were willing to make any such concession.

Yet it would be no more than a compromise on the East's part, which deference to the Soviet Union's allies in Eastern Europe who are keen on a more flexible foreign policy toward the West.

All Warsaw Pact countries share the Soviet view that US missile deployment has exacerbated the political situation in Europe.

But unlike the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and evedently the GDR are not of the opinion that an acute and immediate risk of war has arisen as a consequence.

The conclusion they have reached is that ties with the West ought not to be abandoned entirely on this account. Does that perhaps apply to disarmament talks between the blocs too?

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 April 1984)

Continued from page 1

and, in a wider sense, East-West relations as detente, entente and cooperation ...

"In our opinion these principles remain unchanged today."

What came as a surprise was that *Neues Deutschland*, the East German Party newspaper, printed this Hungarian statement.

Erich Honecker, the East German leader, may not yet be quoting General de Gaulle, but late last autumn he was one of the Eastern European leaders who opposed the deployment of further Soviet missiles in response to the deployment of Pershing 2s and cruise missiles by the West.

The Soviet missiles, he said, would naturally nor give rise to jubilation in the GDR.

The Soviet Union itself was reponsible for the independent ideological course in foreign affairs of which the Kremlin is now critical where several of its allies are concerned.

By being unable to offer the countries of Eastern Europe either reserves or reforms, either help in coping with the energy crisis or solutions to the problem of growing indebtedness, it virtually obliged its allies to fend for themselves.

Today no country in Eastern Europe, from Poland to Bulgaria, can manage without assistance from Western European industry and the economies of the West.

Desperate bids to avert the collapse of the central planning system oblige the countries of Eastern Europe to try and pass through the eye of the needle and convert from extensive to intensive economic development.

That calls for closer ties with the world economy. The bankruptcy of "real socialism" has made Russia's fraternal socialist states hostages of an "imported" economic progress by which they hope to persuade their peoples not to go in for incontrollable political commitment.

For most Eastern European leaderships it would be tantamount to a threat to survival if Cold War were to tear apart their painstakingly woven network of domestic reform and external trade ties.

The Kremlin, overtaxed by the pressure of Washington's ideological and military build-up, would be bound to sense an alarming decline in prestige and power.

It would result from the rational self-help undertaken by Eastern European countries suddenly having repercussions that changed the entire system, not only socially but also with regard to the Warsaw Pact.

Mr Andropov seemed to have appreciated the dilemma of global claims and hegemonial structural change. Foreign Minister Gromyko, who is in sole charge of foreign affairs under Mr Chernenko, is too inflexible in his role as a pedantic caretaker of Moscow's overburdened post-war empire.

He has held on to what he could, but he can hardly be said to have changed or renewed anything. To this day the Kremlin lacks a concept by which to convert its imperial glacis into a Soviet commonwealth..

Could it be that a majority of Warsaw Pact states has now of necessity headed in this direction? There are many indications that the Eastern Europeans are seeking salvation in this way from a foreign policy that bears the hallmark of the old men in the Kremlin.

Eastern Europe stands to gain from realising that its options are fairly limited. If its fails to appreciate the point it will be asking for Soviet intervention.

Western Europe stands to gain from realising that its options are fairly unlimited. This realisation should enable it to prevent East-West relations from slumping to unremitting confrontation.

An all-European concept must include partnership between Western Europe and America, but it must rule out any complicity in a purely ideologically based US Ostpolitik.

It must include the Soviet Union and bear Soviet security interests in mind, but it must help to restrict the use of Soviet force in Eastern Europe.

Mrs Thatcher's visit to Budapest and the preparations for a visit to Moscow by M. Mitterrand are indications that an appreciation of the need for Western European to tackle this task is growing, and not only in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Christian Schmidt-Häuer

(Die Zeit, 27 April 1984)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Reform proposals aim at more say for Parliament, livelier debates

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Proposals to give Parliament more say in the running of the country are among reform plans under discussion.

Another suggestion all-party groups are considering is shortening speeches in an effort to reduce the tedium of Bundestag debate.

The aim of the reform would be to make debates, question time and possibly committee sessions more flexible and lively.

The Speaker of the Bundestag, Rainer Barzel, is an advocate of a stronger Bundestag. He says that the German people send representatives to Parliament for four years, and it is vital that Parliament is seen as an assembly representing the people.

He wants various responsibilities and rights, until now exercised by the executive, taken over by the Bundestag.

Proposals for reform have been submitted by an all-party group chaired by parliamentary member Hildegard Hamm-Brücher (FDP).

Barzel has welcomed all the group's proposals intended to make parliamentary debate briefer and more lively, although details have not yet been made public.

A full debate should take place, according to Barzel, as soon as possible on the Bundestag and how the Bundestag sees itself.

Barzel thinks that such a debate should take place every year when the Bundestag considers the budget.

Among the suggestions from Parliamentarians is one to open up debates so members can speak spontaneously for five to 10 minutes. This is aimed at getting rid of some of the tedium of marathon debates.

The Speaker thinks that short speeches without interruption would increase the likelihood of members asking questions afterwards and of debates becoming more lively.

Other suggestions include reducing the pressurre of the party whips and telling parliament and the parties more quickly of government initiatives.

All these suggestions must be agreed by all parties before they can be introduced.

In an interview, Barzel said that Parliament should not continue to take a back seat, as is the case now.

"We elect the chancellor, we enact laws, we approve finances, we investigate matters when they are not what they should be," so it was vital to be seen that the German people are represented by the representatives they send to Parliament for four years.

He maintains, for instance, that it is incredible that the Bundestag's budget should appear as a preface or an epilogue to the government's own budget. He believes that the Bundestag's budget should be prepared by Parliament itself and approved by Parliament.

Rainer Barzel ... new ideas.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

"So long as it is said that in Parliament we do ot need to consider this or that, the Finance Minister will not pass it, we are the runners-up. That must be altered.

Presidential choice

"It must be said in government that government can forget this and that because it will not be passed by Parliament. That's what I am working for, not against the government but for parliamentary democracy."

One of Barzel's demands is that the Bundestag should have the right to select the president of the Federal High Court in Karlsruhe who has until now been chosen by the government.

The Speaker would also like to see that the publication of the magazine *Das Parlament* should pass into the hands of the Bundestag. Until now this has been handled by the Federal Centre for Political Education, part of the Interior Ministry.

He would also like to see that constituents visiting Parliament should be looked after by the Bundestag and not by the government press office.

Heinz-Joachim Melder

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 26 April 1984)

SPD is committed to Western Alliance, assures Apel

It is unimaginable that the Federal Republic of Germany would turn its back on links with the Western Alliance, says Hans Apel, who was Defence Minister in the former SPD government.

Apel, who is to contest the post of Mayor of West Berlin for the SPD next year, wrote in the magazine *Aussenpolitik* that the aim of Soviet policies was to shake Europe's security links with America so that Moscow could again consider military options in Europe.

And in an address to party colleagues, he said that discussions with the peace movement would achieve little and could "lead to cloud cuckoo land."

In the *Aussenpolitik* article, Apel, deputy chairman of the SPD parliamentary party, underlined the party's faith in the Western Alliance.

Everything should be done to ensure that the Federal Republic's adherence to the Alliance did not come into question. Dreams of a nationalism of the left were a nightmare.

East and West, he wrote, must strive to work within the political and military vacuum. "The Federal Republic can never be an island of the blessed, immune from the great conflicts that shake the world."

The central task of European policy should be to strengthen Nato. The controversial debates that surrounded the Alliance were a sign of its strength.

But there were security limits to this controversy, and this was true for the SPD whose attitudes to security policy as the opposition in government must remain firmly fixed in realities.

A careful consideration of the alternatives to Nato's flexible response strategy would show clearly just how little room for strategic manoeuvre there is "if you do not want strategic to be reproached for playing with illusions rather than with the realities."

Without mentioning names but referring clearly to his party colleague and one-time parliamentary state secretary when he was at the Defence Ministry, Andreas von Bülow, Apel dismissed as "unthinkable" the suggestion that the frontier dividing the two Germanies

DIE WELT

should be turned into a kind of Maginot Line.

He said that it was vital not to forget that weapons and strategies were not so much the cause of political antagonism but rather an expression of it. He said that weapons and defence strategies should only be considered in the context of their deterrent effects.

Nuclear free zones on national frontiers he maintained were impossible, for example. In the first place, according to Apel, discussions of this sort were only of any use when there was an equality of conventional forces in Europe. Then a nuclear-free zone must stretch "from the Atlantic to the Urals."

Addressing his party colleagues he said that it was essential that the Soviet Union, America, Nato and the Warsaw Pact should get together to discuss "a partnership for mutual security."

But Europe could only preserve peace and freedom by being linked to the USA.

Discussions with the peace movement would achieve little and could lead to cloud cuckoo land.

Peter Philipps

(Die Welt, 18 April 1984)

Greens see red on party funds issue

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

It is not surprising that the Greens have complained about the constitutionality of the Party Political Financing Act. This is to be welcomed since it is always interesting to get an insight into the Green's motives.

There are, indeed, doubts about the consitutionality of this Act deep within the parties that have approved it and this doubt goes as far as the Head of State.

At a time when the affairs of party political financing had by no means been dealt with either politically or legally, Parliament, at the beginning of this year, passed the Act which considerably increased the parties' access to taxpayers' money.

The fact they have passed this Act when there are swingeing budget cuts in most departments of governments seems improper, particularly since the parties themselves are to blame for this situation, and it leaves behind the impression that earlier Constitutional Court rulings on the extent political parties may raise money have been ignored.

The Greens maintain that the Act is unfair and does not allow for equal opportunities since they do not in the main have high wage earners to provide contributions and donations.

This makes them particularly dependent on the State from which they get a fair chance of equal treatment.

Here they clash with previous Constitutional Court recommendations that at least fifty per cent of a party's financial requirements should be raised from the party's own resources.

That was why the Greens took good care not to challenge the proposed government increase from DM3.50 to DM5 per voter as a subvention to the political parties to meet their expenses in election campaigns.

The Greens have salted away millions of this cash, superfluous to immediate requirements, into the ecological fund, which is surely contrary to the purpose of the money.

All these matters come into constitionally complex areas, and it is up to senior officers of the courts to weigh the points carefully.

It is hoped that there will not only be a speedy ruling on the points raised by the Greens but that some light will be thrown on to the whole business so that the full extent of what this legislation was intended to achieve can be understood.

There is genuine cause for alarm at the way political parties seem to be stumbling from one kind of financial wheeler-dealing to another, especially as many observers forecast all the time that this is just what would happen.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 20 April 1984)

■ THE THIRD REICH

Fifty years since the People's Court began its bloody existence

Fifty years ago, on 24 April 1934, the Volksgerichtshof was set up by the Nazis as the highest court in the Third Reich to deal with treason and other political offences. It quickly became part of a reign of legal terror, and especially from 1942 on it passed death sentences by the thousand.

The law is not what must count, Goebbels told *Volksgerichtshof* judges in spring 1942. What mattered, he said, was to arrive at a decision that "the man has got to go."

By that time ordinary legal safeguards were merely so much paper. But the *Volksgerichtshof*, or People's Court, had spearheaded the perversion of justice since April 1934.

Judge Roland Freisler later attained notoriety for doing exactly what Goebbels had in mind and ensuring that the court "got its man" — usually sending him to the firing squad.

The *Volksgerichtshof* was set up 50 years ago by the Nazis after the Reichstag fire proceedings in the Supreme Court failed to lay the blame where they wanted to see it laid.

The Reichsgericht was stripped of responsibility for hearing many cases and responsibility was transferred to the new court by a law enacted on 24 April 1934.

The *Volksgerichtshof* was responsible for dealing with cases of treason. Full sessions were presided over by a panel of five judges, only two of whom were career judges.

The other three, laymen nominated by the Reich Justice Minister and appointed for five-year terms by Hitler personally, were thus always in the majority.

Transfers to the *Volksgerichtshof* were compulsory for career judges, and 570 judges, lay judges and public prosecutors are known to have been employed by the new court.

As a rule the presiding judge ran proceedings in accordance with the Führer principle. What he said was law and was accepted without a murmur by the others. A typical case is that of Munich student Hans Scholl and his sister Sophie and the way they were dealt with by the court. On 18 February 1943 the Gestapo arrested Scholl, 24, his sister, 22, and her friend Christoph Probst. They had been caught bill-sticking and handing out leaflets calling for Hitler to be ousted. They were executed four days later by order. At 5 p.m., only four hours after what amounted to a drumhead court-martial rushed through by Judge Freisler, who had been flown from Berlin for the occasion, they were killed.



Judge Roland Freisler (right) . . . off with his head.

(Photo: AdSD/Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung)

It was not just what Freisler and his ilk said but the way they said it. His screams and paroxysms were repeated hundreds of times during the war years.

In most cases he sent the accused to either the gallows or the guillotine.

His role was that of Robespierre and Saint-Just in one. He was a hanging judge at the height of his power. The number of death sentences certainly skyrocketed when he was named presiding judge in 1942.

His predecessor, Reich Justice Minister Thierack, felt he was mentally deranged, a pathological case. He died in an Allied air raid on Berlin on 3 February 1945 somewhere on the court premises.

Dr Harry Haffner was named his successor but absconded from Berlin on 24 April 1945. The court was abolished by Allied Control Council decree on 20 October 1945.

Its track record was one of bloodshed. It passed 5,191 death sentences, most of them during Freisler's term of office. "In the name of the people," the set phrase went, "the accused is sentenced to death."

That was how most trials ended. During the Third Reich the judiciary passed at least 32,000 death sentences. Over 30,000 were passed between 1941 and 1944. About one in three in the civil sector were the handiwork of the *Volksgerichtshof*.

Since autumn 1980 the public prosecutor's office in West Berlin has been preparing cases against 51 surviving members of the court's staff.

Much of the material is in the GDR archives in Potsdam, and the GDR director of public prosecutions for years refused West Berlin courts permission to consult East German records.

The legal nicety is whether the *Volksgerichtshof* was a properly constituted court, in which case its judges would enjoy special privileges.

But given their age nowadays it is highly unlikely any will ever be brought to book.

Wolf Scheller

(Rheinische Post, 22 April 1984)

Dispute over annullment of sentences

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Ought the Bonn Bundestag to declare all sentences passed by the Nazi *Volksgerichtshof* to have been null and void? Politicians disagree.

The Federal government and the Christian Democrats in the Bundestag say there is no cause and no need to do so. The CDU/CSU are not denying that the court formed part of the Nazi reign of terror but wonder whether there are any judgments by the *Volksgerichtshof* left that have not already been declared null and void.

The Bundesgerichtshof, or Federal Supreme Court, has not voided any, although it has been known to criticise individual *Volksgerichtshof* sentences as in breach of the law.

After the war the Allied Control Council ruled that sentences unjustly passed under the Hitler regime on political, racial or religious grounds must be annulled.

But this ruling was implemented in different ways in the different zones of occupation. In the Soviet Zone all sentences were annulled. In Berlin they were annulled on application only.

Albert Klütsch, Social Democrat state assemblyman in North Rhine-Westphalia, says the Allied ruling was not uniformly implemented.

In the Saar prison sentences imposed by the *Volksgerichtshof* were not annulled. In Baden and the Rhineland-Palatinate death sentences were not annulled. In what used to be Württemberg-Hohenzollern none of the court's sentences were annulled.

Above all, he says, Allied law is unsuitable as a means of rehabilitating the victims of Nazi legal terror. It was, for the most part, an amnesty, and an amnesty is not the same as rehabilitation, let alone reparation.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 April 1984)

Nyet, say Russians: Hess, ailing and 90, must remain jailed





Rudolf Hesse . . . alone.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

Rudolf Hess, called the world's loneliest and oldest jailbird by the Western press, has been in prison for 43 years.

The former deputy to Adolf Hitler who flew to Britain in May 1941 on board a light aircraft, bailed out over Scotland and allegedly sought to sue for peace, was 90 on 26 April.

For years he has been the last remaining prisoner in Spandau jail, West Berlin, yet appeals for clemency have been to no avail.

Only a few days ago the Federal Constitutional Court dismissed an appeal by Hess's lawyer, Alfred Seidl, 73, for an approach to the Allies.

They were to be asked to give Hess a month's leave on humanitarian grounds. But instead DM130,000 has been spent on a lift to help him to get down to the prison yard for exercise.

Hess is in poor health and nearly blind. He can no longer get up and down the narrow staircase from his cell to the ground floor and back on his own.

Western politicians such as Churchill, Herbert Wehner of the SPD and Chancellor Kohl have called for his release. So has Amnesty International.

But the Soviet Union, which has shared with the Western Allies responsibility for Nazi war criminals sentenced at Nuremberg since 1946, has always refused to consider the idea.

Hess was convicted of preparing and waging a war of aggression. He has been the last inmate of Spandau jail since 1966 and has on several occasions tried to commit suicide.

Many critics are upset by the secrecy that is still maintained in connection with the case. British interrogation records have been declared classified until the year 2017.

Until he dies Hess is not to be allowed to read anything about his case or about the Nazi era or to talk to anyone about it.

The fake Hitler Diaries were a chance exception. According to his son Wolf-Rüdiger, Hess learnt about them by coincidence.

He reads four censored newspapers daily and saw a TV report, not previously announced, about the diaries. He merely laughed, his son says, and immediately dismissed them as forgeries.

He has only been allowed to see his family regularly — once a month — since 1969. They are his wife Ilse and his son.

For the rest of the time he is guarded by 42 Allied officers and men, jail staff and cooks and cleaners who look after Prisoner No. 7.

The Four Allies take turns at providing the guard mounting. This arrangement is as strictly observed as it ever was.

He gets up at 7 a. m., washes and puts on his grey denims. A guard hands him his brown plastic-rimmed spectacles. At 7.45 a. m. breakfast is served.

At 10.30 he goes for a walk in the prison garden. At 11.45 it is lunchtime. At 2.30 p. m. he takes another walk, followed at 5 p. m. by dinner.

Then he either reads or watches TV. Lights out is at 10 p. m. precisely.

The guard mounting alone cost West Berlin DM2.3m last year. Since 1946 keeping Hess in jail has cost the German taxpayer over DM20m.

Evelyn Bohne/dpa

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 17 April 1984)

■ PERSPECTIVE

America's balance between pragmatism and ideology

In this article for Stuttgarter Zeitung, Wolfgang Borgmann reviews a series of book dealing with America. The books mentioned are listed below.

America is California. The world's most powerful country has transferred its centre of power to the Pacific, writes Michael Naumann in his *Spiegel* book on California.

It is written, by Naumann and a number of co-authors, in the breathless style one associates with the Hamburg news-weekly

But it is definitely the most interesting book on the market about understanding America.

There can be no doubt that the Reagan administration, whose leading members all hail from California, is impatient with Europe, and especially with the Federal Republic of Germany.

Secretary of State Shultz, who used to work for Bechtel, a leading Californian firm, clearly never tires of telling visitors from Europe how important Asia has become to America.

Mr Eagleburger of the State Department recently accused the Europeans of constantly thinking of no-one but themselves.

Dr Kissinger, who as always has a fine ear for the prevailing tenor of opinion, promptly followed suit and heralded what might prove major and dramatic changes in the United States.

Anyone who has seen for himself the cheerful optimism of California, the basically unbroken belief that an economy on full throttle, unhampered by government attempts to slam on the anchors, holds the key to the progress of mankind, will be prepared to consider Naumann's argument, which is that California is the new world axis and the new heart of America.

We have all been told time and again that the world's new gold is panned in Silicon Valley, near San Francisco, where a third of the world's microchips and two thirds of its semiconductors are made.

President Reagan was governor of California. His major advisers from gubernatorial days, Messrs Weinberger, Clark and Meese, followed him to Washington.

Californian influence in Washington has clearly grown enormously. It is now almost forgotten that President Nixon also came from California; he was still strongly influenced by the East coast Establishment represented by Dr Kissinger.

Naumann believes that President Reagan's leadership testifies to a new and specifically Californian outlook comprising social ruthlessness at home and a sense of moral mission abroad, especially with regard to the evils of communism.

His judgement on Californians in Washington is damning. They are, he writes, neither stupid nor deceitful. Their only problem, by virtue of their jobs, is the entire world.

They feel they have found an American key to world history, fair sharing of power and justice on earth in the days when Hollywood taught the Communists a lesson by means of Christian morality, career bans and puffed-up patriotism.

But that isn't enough as a basis for conducting world affairs, while as an approach to a possible nuclear crisis it is downright dangerous, he writes.

Many objections may be raised to this damning judgement. His book does indeed mention that there is more to California than Ronald Reagan and that worlds may separate the liberal north, with its homosexual bastion of San Francisco, from the more conservative south that is more attuned to the President.

It is also too easy to make Mr Reagan out to be a mere representative of the military-industrial complex, although he has undeniably played a leading role in boosting Californian high tech and still does so.

The US Congress is not, when all is said and done, predominated by Californians even though California as the richest state of the union sends the most representatives to Capitol Hill.

But Congress has not made life too difficult for Mr Reagan. In principle it has done nothing to trim the sails of the enormous defence budget. It has also condoned swingeing cuts in social services.

So the signs are that there has been a change in outlook all over America and not just in California.

Naumann is not alone in criticising Mr Reagan. Leading bourgeois Liberals, such as Marion Dönhoff, proprietor of *Die Zeit*, the Hamburg political weekly, and Peter Merseburger, who spent long years as a German TV correspondent in Washington, share his negative view of the President, although they are not as adamant.

They ring the praises of America's undeniable strong points, yet Merseburger is shocked to feel that this "talented and highly intelligent nation is incapable of providing itself with a competent political leadership and devising a logical long-term foreign policy concept."

He also, one is bound to add, refers to what, in comparison with Western Europe, is a vital and mobile, experimentative and creative America.

Merseburger's split relationship with America and its political leadership is in many ways typical of a current of opinion in present-day Germany that encompasses both Conservatives and Liberals.

Merseburger keenly portrays the America of the period he spent working in the United States, from Carter to Reagan. Marion Dönhoff's essays span a wider period of time.

She has arrived at her judgement in level-headed leading articles for *Die Zeit* written over a period of 30 years. It is, in a nutshell, that:

"The conviction of having been entrusted with a special mission, of having been chosen for a very special role, has repeatedly led in US foreign policy to ideologically-based phases.

"Right now under Ronald Reagan we are experiencing one such phase.

"After a certain period of time and a corresponding degree of exaggeration a more pragmatic approach is taken, but that is how the never-ending succession of hot and cold showers from America comes about which so shocks Europeans."

While Merseburger and Dönhoff set their sights on the future in advocating a more forthright and fearless representation of European interests in general and German interests in particular, many gazes are cast at the golden 1970s.

They were the days when President Nixon and Dr Kissinger led America out of the Vietnam debacle and proclaimed a new era of detente.

Christian Hacke's painstaking outline of the Nixon-Kissinger era from 1969 to 1974 impressively makes the point that the architects of the era suceeded by political means in surmounting a serious political setback, Vietnam, and laying the groundwork for a sensible policy of balance.

Realising that even a superpower's options are limited, Kissinger and Nixon drew up the concept of a rational policy of looking after US interests that combined military strength and the desire to come to terms with the Soviet Union.

President Nixon, Hacke writes, aimed at a kind of conservative revolution in US foreign policy by which he sought to supersede the alarming vacillation between overcommitment and isolationism.

Anyone who would like to reread Dr Kissinger's concept in the original can do so by reading his latest collection of essays on world affairs.

Many points he makes sound opportunist, which is hardly surprising given the glittering personality he is, but much is indirectly critical of President Reagan, especially on ties with the Soviet Union.

There is certainly no shortage of books on America that are well worth reading at present. They include Hartmut Wasser's painstakingly documented, largely conservative book entitled The USA — The Unknown Partner. It deals with German-American ties.

Jakob Schissler's attempt to interpret neo-conservatism in America, expanded from a critical essay, also helps one to a clearer understanding of America.

Misunderstandings and gaps in knowledge can be dealt with by reading these books but the overriding political difference between Americans and Europeans will still remain.

It is outlined by Marion Dönhoff as follows: "Although we are no less disapproving of communist regimes than the Americans, differences arise from different views on relations with the Soviet Union."

Wolfgang Borgmann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 19 April 1984)

Michael Naumann, *Amerika liegt in Kalifornien. Wo Reagans Macht herkommt.* A "Spiegel" Book, Rowohlt Verlag, Hamburg, 189pp, DM14.
Marion Gräfin Dönhoff, *Amerikanische Wechselbäder. Beobachtungen und Kommentare aus vier Jahrzehnten*, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 320pp, DM 32.
Peter Merseburger, *Die unberechenbare Vormacht. Wohin steuern die USA?*, Bertelsmann-Verlag, Munich, 283pp, DM32.
Christian Hacke, *Die Ära Nixon/Kissinger, 1969-1974, Konservative Reform der Weltpolitik*, Klett-Cotta Verlagsgemeinschaft, Stuttgart, 319pp, DM64.
Henry A. Kissinger, *Die weltpolitische Lage. Reden und Aufsätze*, Bertelsmann-Verlag, Munich, 320pp, DM39.80.
Jakob Schissler, *Neokonservatismus in den USA. Eine Herausforderung*, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, 166pp, DM22.80.
Hartmut Wasser, *Die USA — der unbekannte Partner*, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn, DM48.

The inspiration behind a think tank

Ten years ago a spark of inspiration flashed across to Berlin from Aspen, Colorado. It was struck largely by Shepard Stone, a former journalist with the *New York Times*.

He went on to become head of press and public relations for US High Commissioner for Germany John J. McCloy and was for many years head of the Ford Foundation.

It was he who suggested Berlin when thought was given at the Aspen Institute to setting up an affiliated institute somewhere else in the world.

London, Paris and Tokyo were all shortlisted, but Berlin made the running as an ongoing attraction to scientists, artists and politicians on the borderline between East and West.

West Berlin city council was all in favour of the idea and placed at Aspen's disposal a building on Schwanenwerder, an idyllic island on Wannsee lake.

The city offered to pay two thirds of the cost of running the institute. Private donors have included the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, the Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach Foundation, the Volkswagen Foundation and the Axel Springer Foundation.

On this basis, and managed by Shepard Stone, over 250 rounds of talks attended by 6,000 people from Western and Eastern Europe, North America and other parts of the world have been held since 1974.

Topics discussed have ranged from disarmament, US domestic and foreign policy, the situation in Poland and the Soviet Union, labour market and technological problems, sexual equality and the future of the universities to architecture in Berlin.

DIE WELT

They may not have achieved a mass effect but that was never envisaged. But the attraction of Berlin in a sector important for the city's future was enhanced by the establishment of an Aspen institute.

People who have taken part are often well-known personalities such as Helmut Schmidt, Henry Kissinger, Nahum Goldmann and Rolf Liebermann.

They share this distinction with members of the board of governors, who include Richard von Weizsäcker, soon to become Bonn head of state, British historian Alan Bullock and the chairman of the Trilateral Commission, Georges Berthoin.

Other members are Professors Richard Löwenthal of Berlin, Fritz Stern of New York and Paul Doty of Harvard, Daimler-Benz executive Edzard Reuter and Aspen president Joseph E. Slater.

The man whose idea it all was, Shepard Stone, cannot complain of ingratitude. He took a PhD at Berlin University in 1933 and was awarded an honorary PhD of the Free University of Berlin in 1954.

In 1978 the city awarded him an honorary title of professor. In 1983, to mark his 75th birthday, he was made a freeman of the city.

Bernt Conrad

(Die Welt, 19 April 1984)

■ INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Threat of strikes again raises the angry question of lock-outs

Süddeutsche Zeitung

If a wave of strikes in the metalworking and printing industries does come about, then lock-outs will again become a burning question.

Lock-outs mean that workers are prevented from doing their work by employers, who then don't have to pay wages.

Employers will use the lock-out despite warnings not to do so by trade unionits, who say the result would be serious social and political conflict.

This year there has been considerable discussion about whether lock-outs are constitutional.

In Basic Law neither strikes nor lock-outs are referred to, but Article 9 of Basic Law within the 1968 Emergency legislation, stipulates that established regulations may not be used in cases of industrial dispute.

As lock-outs are not expressly referred to here lawyers take the view that they are not against constitutional practice.

The highest administrators of justice have filled the room for manoeuvre and as a consequence have made invalid a clause in the Hesse constitution that prohibits lock-outs, true to the principle that Federal law supersedes State law.

In three rulings made over the years the Federal Labour Court in Kassel has defined more clearly the criteria for lock-outs, so that now there is no confusion about what is and what is not allowed.

In the first judgment in 1955 the judges took the view that lock-outs had a cooling off effect on labour relations, but they said that employers were obliged to re-engage employees when the dispute ended.

In 1971 the judges modified this position. They said that basically lock-outs only had a suspending effect and only cooled things off in special cases such as a long walkout or in wild-cat strikes.

It was further ruled that employers could not use wage disputes to get rid of unpopular workers.

The most important ruling came in 1980, however, when the Court heard the grievances of the major metalworkers and printing workers strike of 1978.

Although the trades unions exercised every possibility at law, because it was ruled that strikes and lock-outs are equal aspects of labour disputes, the ruling included important features that were to the advantage of the worker.

It was laid down that a strike must precede a lock-out. It was further ruled that a lock-out can only be applied in cases of wage dispute, that not only trades union members must be locked out and that the number of locked-out workers must be calculated in a specific relationship to the strikers.

The most important point that was laid down was that a lock-out could not be applied to the extent that it made the employee organisation financially incapable of continuing the dispute.

By so doing the Kassel judges guarded against the possibility of employers, by limiting funds, making the worker side bankrupt.

This is a real danger because trades unions not only have to provide strike pay for those on strike but also for those who are locked out.

Despite the advantages that trades unions have won in these various rulings, there are still calls to have lock-outs prohibited. The chances of this coming about under the present government is fairly remote.

They would be more likely under an SPD government and would considerably increase the leverage the trade unions could apply.

The return of lock-outs aimed at a particular result is essential in view of the increase in the number of localised strikes that achieve the maximum effect with a minimum of expenditure. They distort economic competition and this must be avoided.

A glance at the printing industry shows that the Labour Court's emphasis on balanced response can be a problem when it is taken into consideration that newspapers can easily jump clear of wage tariffs so that long-term localised strikes can be hard for those involved and can be a matter of life or death, while other companies have the advantage fall in their lap.

Those who would like to see lock-outs prohibited do not recognise that workers are nowadays not a crowd of unprotected individuals, as was the case once, but that opposing the employers are now worker representatives who, in a conflict, are of equal clout.

The proud saying that the wheels of industry will stand still if the labour force wills it so is not just a hollow boast.

Helmut Maier-Mannhart

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 April 1984)

Hot summer of dispute likely as talks break down

Only a miracle can save West Germany from a major labour dispute now that summit talks between the engineering industry and employers have broken down.

The fact that the printing industry has agreed to resume talks does not change things very much, for the basic question of how long the working week should be will be resolved in the engineering industry.

This is nothing new for the engineering union. IG Metall is in a much better position to deal with this constructively than is the printers union, IG Druck und Papier.

Second, the metalworkers are not so distant from the employers on this question as is the case in the printers union.

The pressure for the printing union to return to the negotiating table has been brought about by the realisation that the union executive is unlikely to win a regular or strike ballot. The latest figures indicate this.

And even in those quarters were a majority vote for a strike would be given there is displeasure at the action taken by the executive. There have been insults and complaints.

After the unexpectedly swift end to the metalworkers summit talks IG Metall will tread a more slick path. No voting in some companies and not after or during a strike but before it.

The union expects there to be a walkout in the first half of May. The considerable gap between the breakdown of talks and strike action is explained by the intervening public holiday. More decisive is, however, the fact that the union urgently needs time to mobilise its forces.

The demand for a 35-hour week has not been universally received with rejoicing by workers, although the campaign has been presented as solidarity with the unemployed and the demands put pressure on wages. For the time being IG Metall has only gone a little way towards the 35-hour week.

The union presents the argment that it has presented for many a year that only a reduction in the working week will ease the pressure on the labour market.

A strike needs 75 per cent of the vote at local level, and this is regarded in these circumstances as being too high. The breakdown of the second round of talks helped the executive to drum up support. As every vote counts balloting members will begin after the Easter holiday.

The Düsseldorf meeting of IG Metall was not controversial. The union executive accepted the invitation of the employers to talks, because the employers central organisation had clearly indicated that the proposals on the table already could be improved so that both sides would save face. This did not happen, however.

The employers said that every employee with flexible working hours would be offered a paid free shift. Flexible means working outside usual working hours, scrapping the regular working period of eight hours per day five times per week. This was known after the first summit meeting.

Progress could have been made by specifying the number of free shifts in a given industry in relation to agreed work periods. Not everyone who would like to work staggered hours can do so.

Did this not come about because there was disagreement among the employers? The employers association suffers from the fact that in wage talks the majority of the members are small to medium-sized operations while most of those who are union members are employed in the major companies. These can come to wage agreements much more easily.

IG Metall made the mistake of not making its suggestions more to the taste of the employers.

Instead both sides have fallen into a dogmatic position in which the question is how many regular hours should be worked. For the employers this must remain as now, a 40-hour week. The unions hold out for a 35-hour week.

Is it really true that no agreement can be made avoiding these figures? The employers association is in fact offering a reduction in the hours worked in a week for it is a fact that every worker working flexible hours would not longer be working 40 hours.

This packet has possibilities in it since IG Metall has withdrawn its demand for

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

the 35-hour week and is prepared to give up its refusal to go along with a 38-hour week, in return for concessions, mainly a long-term wage agreement.

Strong forces in IG Metall are prepared to concede to the employers better use of their equipment.

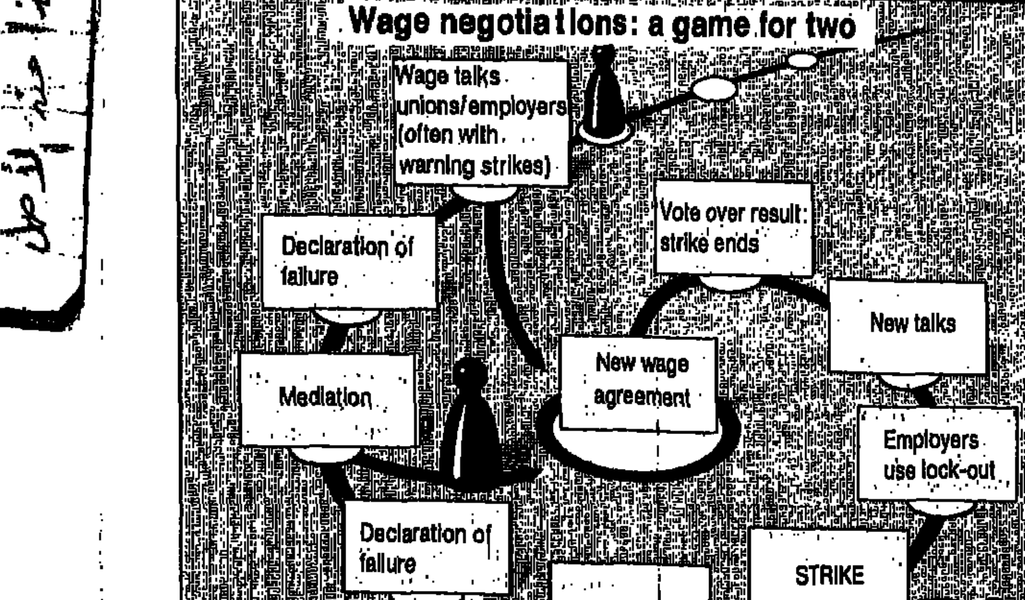
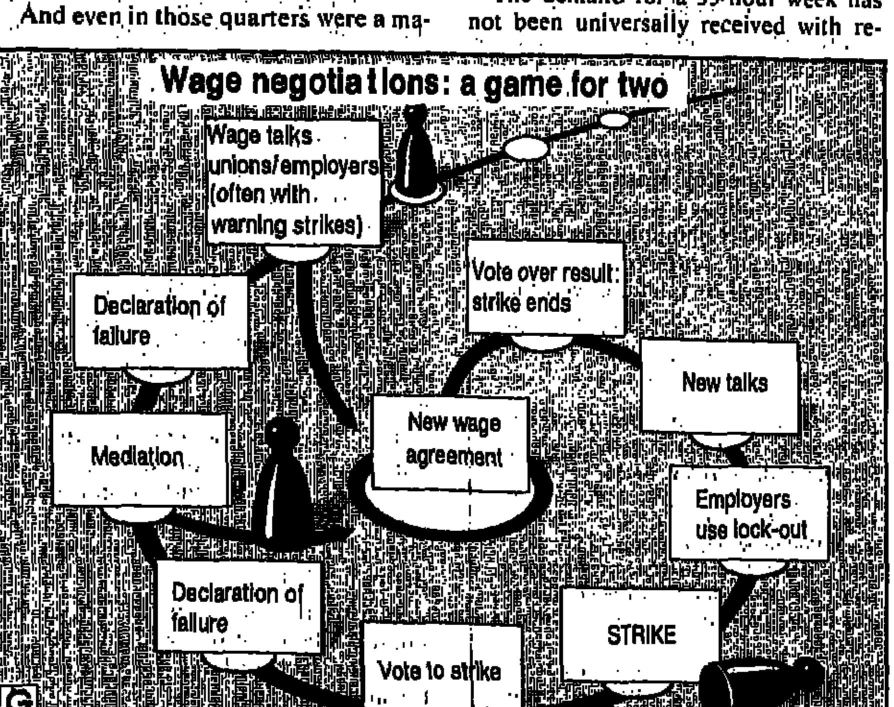
The unions are not themselves altogether happy with flexible working hours.

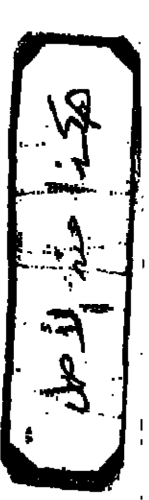
The situation is reminiscent of past rounds of wage talks when both sides were adament about specific percentages. But in actual fact although the percentages sounded impressive they were not so because the small print lessened the employer's burden.

It would be madness for both sides to fall back into positions that they held months ago. This only hampers coming to a speedy end to the dispute. Bitter words do not help towards a renewal of negotiations that must eventually come about.

Günther M. Wiedemann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 19 April 1984)



■ THE ECONOMY

A spring smile replaces an autumn grimace

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

The five major economic affairs institutes are more optimistic about the economic future.

They say that some growth is possible and that the outlook for more growth is good.

This is an improvement on their reports last autumn.

The joint work of the institute is in effect an accidental justification of the government's financial and economic policies.

The coalition would maintain that its policies have revived the economy. These policies include winning back trust in the government's financial affairs, which has brought about considerable steps forward to acceptable goals, bringing down additional indebtedness and the relaxation of the tax burden for businesses has given impetus to the building industry and stimulated investement.

But the institutes have not handed out just praise: there are comments on what are considered false directions.

The economic experts complain about higher taxes and social benefits contributions and despite government protestations the tendency of the government to participate in agricultural, industrial and technological affairs.

The institutes make no comment as to whether in their view their has been a lack of attention to essentials or a lack of determination.

Until now the government has made no reply, although naturally the government's first reactions have been to concentrate on the more positive aspects of the experts' report.

Nevertheless the warnings about developments that might be false or disrupting are there and should be taken note of.

The institutes have spoken out plainly about legislation altering wage scales, shortening the working week and tax reform.

The institutes expound their views on working week reductions without any ifs and buts, and make proposals that economists are none too fond of because they are founded on practical considerations.

It will hardly please the trade unions that the majority of the institutes warn against a reduced working week, because they believe that cuts in the time worked will endanger economic growth, jobs and income.

They are also against the government's plans for early retirement, but the main thrust of their disapproval is concentrated on the union's demands for a 35-hour week for the same pay as offered at present.

The institutes take the view that the main proposers of these regulations, the metalworkers union and the printers union, IG Metall and IG Druck und Papier, were badly advised when they were content to reply that the regulations would help employers.

The unions should realise that the employers speak from considerable experience in economic matters. Naturally the unions regard this as one-sided and with a political party slant. But when the unions' calculations and proposals are likely to affect the national economy there is more at stake than questions of one-sidedness.

The institute's appeal for an early reform of the taxation system by correcting wage scales for taxation but without any major benefits for the family underpins the FDP position.

Social Democrats basically see no way for tax reform. The Union would like to see a greater concentation of reform as regards family affairs, but the Finance Minister would like to recover some of the tax reliefs by higher taxes elsewhere.

The institutes will have none of this. They would like to see a temporary increase in the national debt after the drastic reduction in the deficit because the aim of promoting growth through a relief in taxation would justify the reversal and would quickly lead to an increase in additional profits.

The institutes had no easy answer to the problem of unemployment, but they could announce improvements.

The number of those in jobs will increase by about 200,000 in the course of this year, and the total of those without jobs will be less at the end of this year than it was at the end of 1983. This is good news after years in which the number of employed went down and the number of those without jobs increased.

But no one is throwing his hat in the air! The institutes take the view that on average during the year 2.15 million will be jobless, somewhat fewer than last year but still far too many. The outlook as regards employment is depressing.

This spring report makes it quite clear that even with economic growth the urgent requirements of economic, financial and employment policies will not be achieved in the foreseeable future.

Frank J. Eichhorn

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 17 April 1984)

A good year for Big Three trading banks

RHEINISCHE POST

Germany's three major banks, Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank had good years in 1983.

The published balances of the three total DM484 billion. This earned them DM6.1 billion, almost double the combined share capital of DM3.2 billion.

Almost a half of these earnings were by the Deutsche Bank.

The banks' record earnings are in sharp contrast to the commercial world as a whole where recovery is taking place but with margins very much under pressure.

Nevertheless the banks have not gone completely unscathed from the effects of the worldwide recession. They have been hit both domestically and in their international dealings.

In the profit and loss accounts there were depreciations and balancing of accounts as well as provisions to cover credit business to the tune of DM3.2 billion, as required by law. This meant that operating capital was under pressure because of the developments in earnings.

The banks were and will continue to be burdened by the troubles the debtor countries are having in making repayments and with their requests for "fresh money" to pay interest amounts due.

In view of the high number of credit risks and other losses in various quarters the banks were obliged to look closely at the risks they are called up on to cover.

Not only declared reserves but also undisclosed reserves had to be renewed and in some cases topped up as compared with 1982.

But the major banks have entered 1984 well upholstered and it is likely they will record even better results because of increased business.

Shareholders, however, have only ten percent of the total profits, that is DM545 million. Security has its price.

(Rheinische Post, 10 April 1984)

Bundesbank treads carefully with its 11 billion marks

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The central bank, the Bundesbank, made a profit of 11 billion marks on its dealings last year.

The first payment of five billion marks has been paid to the government and the rest will be paid in installments.

Last year, the Bundesbank paid the lot in a lump sum. But not this time, because of the state of the economy.

Last year the economy was not doing so well, and it didn't matter that the money went to the government as a lump sum.

However, with the economy now picking up, it is feared that remittance of all the cash at once would only stoke inflation.

Economic growth in 1984 is likely to be stronger than expected. There is already talk of an upswing.

Statistical peculiarities on consumer prices apart the truth is that for some months now price increases have tailed off.

The continuous inflow of foreign capital has enriched the Federal Republic and indicates that many investors in international money markets expect that the deutschmark will make a spectacular comeback soon, which means unleash itself from the allmighty American dollar.

In this situation it would have been like pouring oil on water if the Bundesbank's currency supply at one time.

The intention to pay by instalments was made public in time and could easily be cancelled.

By using the elegant instrument of open market policies the Bundesbank's opportunities increase in attracting foreign currencies into the country.

The danger lies in the size of the increase of the deutschmark value as compared with the American dollar.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 April 1984)

■ EUROPE

Gnashing of teeth in the textiles industry

German textile manufacturers, led by their hard-working association president Ernst-Günther Plutte, have notched up an impressive political success.

Largely at their insistence the Bonn government has taken a fellow-member of the Common Market to court for what are generally agreed to be restrictive practices — and won.

The European Court of Justice has annulled a decision by the EEC Commission to approve subsidies that are in breach of the Treaty of Rome.

This ruling should have a lasting effect on the policy of granting exemptions in the European Community, if only on procedural grounds.

Recent decisions by the Brussels Commissions have indicated increasing dissatisfaction with subsidies of this kind.

German textile manufacturers get by without them but argue that their existence makes life more difficult for them both in the Federal Republic and in foreign markets.

Firms whose losses are offset by government subsidies of whatever kind are clearly a nuisance because their prices need not be geared strictly according to their costs.

But there is no reason to assume that an initial success at the European Court of Justice will set matters right at one fell swoop for the German textile industry. There has been no change in the overall conditions faced by what is the country's largest consumer goods sector. Surplus world capacity depresses prices both at home and abroad.

When demand improves a little, as it did last year, imports promptly pour into the country.

German manufacturers have nonetheless succeeded in steadily boosting their exports. They are mostly small and medium-sized firms and quick to grasp opportunities.

In long years struggling to survive they have learnt how to recognise each and every slot in which they stand to gain an advantage.

Long-term trends indicate how relentless this struggle for survival has been. Since the industry boomed in the late 1950s over half the firms and still more jobs have gone to the wall.

The German textile industry has become a capital-intensive one, rationalised to the hilt. Its equipment is said to be the most up-to-date in Europe.

Turnover may have virtually marked time for four years, but well over half of it is in exports.

Customers are happy to keep to a supplier who is flexible and has a fashionable range of goods on offer, and these were qualities highly rated at Interstoff, the Frankfurt textiles trade fair.

With its foretaste of summer 1985 fashions the fair, attended by international trade buyers, was expected to convey a clearer idea of what lies ahead.

Not everyone in the trade is entirely at ease. Business is booming for the first time since 1975, with cotton particularly in demand, but scepticism has been voiced.

Demand is no use when profits are unsatisfactory, and that is the position many firms face. Last year, when demand began to pick up, more companies went out of business than for years.

Their financial reserves were so overtaxed that they could no longer afford to finance the modest upswing.

This is a state of affairs many more could face this year. Demand is up by two figures, which has naturally reassured opinion at the Frankfurt fair.

But higher raw material costs are causing upset, especially the extent to which they can be recouped by charging higher prices.

Few if any German firms can afford to ride the tide of higher costs.

Firms at the height of fashion, with bumper orders coming in, will naturally stay in the lead. But retailers are very sensitive on prices, worrying that customers may not be prepared to pay them.

In the New Year it looked as though German consumers at least were keener on fashion and no longer not in the market for clothes.

But it may just have been a passing phase. Sales plummeted in March. Textiles is a tough business even without the risks of the annual round of wage talks.

Inge Adham

(Die Welt, 18 April 1984)

Trade: acting normally is no way to act

The European Commission in Brussels feels the situation is straightforward. When EEC firms resort to unfair trading practices such as dumping they are quickly called to order.

Punitive tariffs, import quotas and self-restraint agreements are imposed, as the European steel industry has learnt to its cost in dealings with the United States.

Yet when the United States and Japan resort to underhand practices in competing for world markets the EEC has no way of replying in kind.

All the European Community seems able to do is to embark on cumbersome procedures first in its own Council of Ministers, then at Gatt.

The self-evident conclusion is that the Common Market badly needs trading provisions as effective in the short term as America's Export Administration Act.

Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff likewise feels matters are straightforward. His view is that further trade policy weapons are not only superfluous but dangerous.

A further turn of the screw of options in the trade war arms race merely heightens the risk of escalation when what world trade needs is tokens of trust.

Yet Count Lambsdorff's Liberal views threaten to make him lose sight of reality in this context. Export subsidies and dumping cannot be eliminated merely by ignoring them.

World trade seldom functions in accordance with Gatt's ambitious principles. The Europeans can no longer have a clearer conscience than the Americans or the Japanese.

The Common Market's new trade policy options are not, as Count Lambsdorff argues, a change for the worse. They are merely an acknowledgment of the existing state of affairs.

Used with discretion, meaning only in serious instances and not necessarily against Europe's weakest trading partners, they could prove a necessarily evil rather than an outright nuisance.

In a mad world it would be madness to behave normally, US Secretary of State George Shultz has noted in connection with the trade policy debate. Sad to say, he is right.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 April 1984)

Agreement, just for a change

The Foreign Ministers of the EEC Ten met in Luxembourg to discuss such intractable issues as Britain's demand for a refund from the Common Market in Brussels.

Yet in place of strife they were first confronted with an issue on which they could for once agree. It was a call for closer cooperation by the seven Efta Foreign Ministers.

They drew attention to much more important problems on which a joint approach could be adopted to improve conditions and prospects for the 272 million people in the EEC, the 42 million in Efta and the 37 million Spaniards.

Closer cooperation and the creation of a greater European market of over 350 million consumers have been a tempting option for over 25 years.

But the European Community has been so preoccupied with disputes among the Six, the Nine and now the the Ten that it has found it difficult to look further afield to neighbouring countries in Europe.

Trade between the EEC and Efta is impressive, but it could be even more substantial if only the seven Efta countries were to agree to a more uniform domestic market.

They are now prepared to do so, Foreign Minister Hellstroem of Sweden has announced.

Given common objectives, it ought not to prove too difficult to confer with Efta on further Community activities in respect of international trade and transport and with a view to surmounting barriers.

But the Efta countries are keen on autonomy and neutrality, so there can be no question of common agricultural and foreign policies.

These issues having been set aside, there has been no question of clashes, burning the midnight oil and summit failures in Efta.

Problems in this respect faced by the European Community have prompted many sceptics to advise the EEC to restrict itself to free trade association status.

This is something the Ten cannot seriously consider. Political, economic and financial integration within the EEC has made too much headway for them to backtrack.

With its worldwide trade ties and economic potential the European Community has come to be a major factor in world affairs the superpowers can no longer afford to ignore.

Helmut J. Weiand

(Rheinische Post, 10 April 1984)



■ AVIATION

No champagne opening for controversial runway

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

The new runway at Frankfurt airport may now have been built, so now it is arguably all over bar the shouting. But the debate is sure to continue.

The runway may have been opened, with less than the usual publicity fanfare, but the issue is not over and done with, neither as an exemplary conflict nor as a model of conflict settlement.

Fifty-two people were arrested and policemen were injured in demonstrations the weekend after the opening, but there were fewer clashes than expected or feared.

Green state assemblymen did not take part in the demonstrations to a degree that might have jeopardised the relationship between SPD and Greens in the state assembly, where the Social Democratic minority government relies on Green support.

Besides, all concerned have learnt lessons. SPD Premier Holger Börner referred to "painful experiences" in connection with the controversial runway he hoped would not be repeated.

Former Interior Minister Ekkehard Gries said there had been errors in implementing measures, while the airport was keen to keep a low profile and avoid any impression of jubilation.

On this occasion the airport authorities, who have not always been sensitive to public opinion, decided to tone down the publicity.

Very little champagne was served. In its place there were statements of principle by aviation experts. Luckily, most local papers were hit by industrial action that day and no newspaper reports appeared.

Media coverage of the occasion was virtually limited to radio and TV.

So is it now back to business as usual? The Greens, who used to be so strictly opposed to the new runway that they said it ought to be demolished and fresh trees planted, are now merely in favour of a total ban on night flights.

The Greens, after all, are now negotiating with the Social Democrats on mutually acceptable terms by which they might be prepared to tolerate an SPD minority government.

But business as usual is an unrealistic expectation. Never have so many people been at odds with the government and the courts over a major political decision. There was not even an uproar to equal it in the early 1950s over Bonn's decision to join Nato.

The days of political consensus are over. The only comparison, in terms of passive resistance to the powers that be, is with working to rule and black marketeering in the East Bloc countries.

The 85,000 cubic metres of concrete used and 370,000 trees felled to build the runway have certainly set people thinking, and there can be no telling where it will end.

As campaign groups disintegrate, the experience gained may be relegated to the subconscious mind. But it is sure to resurface somewhere sometime.

It is already clear that environmental issues are a political sector in which questions can be raised that have not been particularly popular in the past.

They include issues such as whether the profit motive must be all-powerful in society and the relationship between economic interests and their political and legal backing.

These were favourite topics raised unsuccessfully by the Stamokap (short for state monopoly capitalism) wing of the Young Socialists in the early 1970s.

Communists in the Federal Republic of Germany have failed in theory to establish a mass base. Urban guerrillas have failed to do so in practice.

Protest groups against the new airport runway succeeded where they failed. Activists and a wider public were genuinely agreed in their opposition to the project.

This unity was apparent not only in the makeshift village where campaigners camped before the last trees were felled and cleared.

It wa also in evidence in connection with the concept of social and non-violent resistance, although outsiders breached it on more than one occasion.

All too often, well-meaning demonstrators have lacked the strength or will power to distance themselves from those who resort to violence.

How far, for that matter, is the state entitled to go? So-called technological progress has certainly been called into question in the area around Frankfurt airport.

Doubts will and must continue to be voiced. Fundamental issues are at stake on which all groups in society, including the churches, have felt bound to comment.

It only goes to show how much more is at issue than the work of engineers and technicians.

Politicians have been shown that majority decisions, even when endorsed by the highest courts in the country, are worthless when coercion has to be used to enforce them.

This is a lesson to be learnt not only by the Social Democrats in Hesse but in the country as a whole. *Peter John*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 14 April 1984)



Demonstrators against the new runway at the Rhine-Main airport, Frankfurt. A wide range of protestors arguing on various grounds kept up a long and at times violent protest against contruction of a new runway. Eventually, the protest disintegrated after much loss of blood. But the opening this month was kept subdued. (Photo: AP)

The busiest on the Continent

Rhine-Main airport, Frankfurt, is the busiest on the Continent. Last year it totalled 222,000 landings and take-offs and handled 17.8 million passengers.

Only London's Heathrow is busier, but Rhine-Main leads in Europe with 685,000 tons of air cargo.

Frankfurt is by far the largest of Germany's 11 airports, accounting for 37 per cent of their total passengers and 77 per cent of their combined air cargo.

It is an important economic factor in the *Land* of Hesse, where it employs a payroll of 32,519, making it the third-largest employer in the state.

Since 1976 the airport has regularly reported profits in tens of millions of marks. In 1982 its turnover was DM806m and profits DM53.9m.

Between 1983 and 1985 it plans to invest DM440m in runway modernisation and maintenance.

dpa

(Nordwest Zeitung, 13 April 1984)

Military helicopter plans put a spoke in Frankfurt airport dispute

Frankfurt airport's new runway, the controversial subject of years of protests and clashes with the police, was opened quietly in mid-week.

At the weekend the police were expecting full-scale demonstrations and clashes with campaigners.

Politicians are meanwhile uneasily contemplating extensions planned at a USAF base in Erbenheim, Wiesbaden, [illegible] km west of the new runway.

It will soon be home base for 26 reconnaissance planes and 135 Black Hawk helicopters. They could spell trouble because they will take off and land across the approach to the new runway.

They are bound to complicate operations at Rhine-Main airport because the air force base is only two minutes' flying time away from the control tower.

One aviation expert has estimated that the USAF helicopters could eventually tie up 30 per cent of Rhine-Main's capacity, or more than the benefit derived from the new runway.

Such estimates are not just sensationalism. Hesse Prime Minister Holger Börner, a staunch supporter of the new runway despite opposition from the ranks of his Social Democratic Party, was hopping mad when he learnt of the USAF plans from local newspaper reports.

The Americans had planned the extensions in collusion with Bonn without sparing a thought for the effect they might have on Frankfurt airport.

Börner tried to come to terms with Defence Minister Wörner and get the Erbenheim project cancelled, but Wörner wasn't interested.

Erbenheim, he said, was strictly a matter for the Americans and the Defence and Finance Ministries.

The Finance Ministry had already given the US Army the go-ahead. It was given unconditional permission to do anything at Erbenheim that was needed to fulfil its defence commitments.

The Hesse Premier's personal commitment to the new runway has been so strong that he is now determined to do all he can to keep its approaches clear.

If need be he will go to court to ensure that Hesse's case is given a hearing by the Defence Ministry. His aim is to persuade the Americans to base their helicopters somewhere else.

He would sooner see them anywhere other than eight miles away from the main runway of a major international airport.

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Air safety control in Frankfurt has so far chosen to take a level-headed approach. "The extent to which Erbenheim may affect operations at Rhine-Main," says spokesman Hans-Ulrich Ohl, "will depend on the number of instrument flights the Americans make. "Helicopter often fly by sight. There are special rules for that and it doesn't affect us in the control tower. But instrument flights will have to be handled by Rhine-Main and will affect Frankfurt capacity."

Air safety control is to review the situation by this autumn, by which time the Americans will have invested DM50m in new facilities at Erbenheim.

"It may be OK," Ohl says. "The upset will then have been for nothing. But problems may occur, arguably because the lightweight reconnaissance planes and helicopters will have to wait before flying into the turbulence created by jet airliners landing and taking off.

"We will then have to talk with the Americans and see how the problem can be solved."

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 April 1984)

■ THE ARTS

Message of a small kaleidoscope of Berlin realism over 50 years

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Felix Nussbaum, who was murdered in Auschwitz in 1944, painted *Der tolle Platz* in 1931. It was his impression of the Pariser Platz, near the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin.

It wasn't the Pariser Platz as it looked before the war and the destruction of 1944-45; it was a fantastic collection of buildings in the vicinity of the Brandenburg Gate.

On the left we see the Academy of Arts, into which elderly university professors are marching in company strength.

In the centre we see younger painters, the generation of secessionists, expressionists, realists and fantasists, all recognisable by their paintings, which they hold up in front of them.

Alongside the Brandenburg Gate there is a half-ruined building with a man on top of it bearing a portrait of Max Liebermann, who had his studio in a building next to the Gate.

There is a strange feeling of end of the world in the painting, of a world midway between yesterday and tomorrow.

Two years later the Nazis came to power and transformed the 1920s Berlin into an entirely different city of which, 12 years later still, barely one stone still stood on top of the other.

The artistic life of pre-1933 Berlin can with some justification be dubbed a Metropolitan Symphony, to borrow the somewhat pathetic term from the Munich Kunstverein.

The Kunstverein is currently showing over 100 works of the Berlin realism school painted between 1900 and 1950.

They are all from the Berlinische Galerie collection of work by Berlin artists put together knowledgeably and with conviction by Eberhard Roters.

Works of art made in Berlin between 1900 and 1950 could fill entire museums, and most are to be seen at major museums in the two German states and elsewhere in Europe.

The Berlinische Galerie, with its strictly limited budget, can claim only to own a small fraction of this total, but its emphasis is on quality, as can be seen from the 112 works on show in Munich.

They stand for the spirit of Berlin realism, the concept being taken in a wider sense.

Chronologically the show begins with Jugendstil work, with paintings by Max Liebermann and fellow-members of the Berlin Secession he launched in 1898.

Then comes a Berlin street scene by Lesser Ury dated 1898 and combining Menzel and Paris impressionism.

The 1901 ballet dancer by Eugen Spiros has more in common with Stuck of Munich and Makart of Vienna than with any other Berlin artist.

Hans Baluschek in his 1902 *Weissbier-idyll* depicts everyday life in turn-of-the-century Berlin. He went on to become even keener on detail, and his 1929 railway station concourse is one of the finest paintings on show.

It is bursting with life: the crowd, the hustle and bustle, the whistle of the locomotives — an atonal little Metropolitan Symphony of its own.

Nikolaus Braun's *Berliner Strassenszene*, 1921, is another example of realism with much to say. He shows us what goes on behind the house fronts and inside the shops, apartments and attic studios. Sad to say, there are only two paintings on show by Gustav Wunderwald, who was once dubbed the Berlin Utrillo and was more successful than any Berlin artist at portraying the city's suburban streets with all their terrible beauty. It is a truism that Berliners have always been great realists in the arts, but like all truisms it is only part of the truth.


Hannah Höch's 'Die Journalisten' (1925). (Photo: Catalogue)

The city's much-vaunted critical realism is often articulated in terms of fantastic realism, a kind of sur-realism.

The most cryptic painting on show is Rudolf Schlichter's *Blinde Macht*, 1937, which is reminiscent of Kubin. It depicts a half-naked warrior with his visor shut and a sword and hammer in his hands.

He stands on the brink of an abyss, leaving fire and destruction behind him. He was a premonition of the war that was to break out two years later.

It is small wonder that he was blacked by the Nazis in 1937, having previously been forbidden to exhibit.

The Munich exhibition makes a point of dispensing with the work of artists favoured by Hitler between 1933 and 1945. It was an understandable decision, if a dangerous one, but that is not a point to be dealt with in detail here.

Realistic art is here on show, not the heroic: everyday life in its everydayness, the base in its baseness and human greatness in plain and simple terms, with as little pathos as possible.

Carl Hofer in his *Die Gefangenen*, 1933, *Schwarzmondnacht*, 1944, *Diskussion*, 1944, and *Alarm*, 1945, demonstrates how realism can be depicted on the borderline between mythical exaggeration and everydayness.

All the characters he paints are chalk-white figures midway between ind[...] duality and mythical exaggeration.

Käthe Kollwitz builds a bridge b[...]ween everyday reality and the myt[...] in her 1934/37 series of prints enti[...] *Der Tod*.

So does Hannah Höch, wh[...] *Trauernde Frauen*, 1945, are arraye[...] rows reminiscent of the Ancient We[...] with faces as white as a sheet and [...] looking up.

Otherwise Höch shows how she ada[...]ed her collage principle to oils and p[...]ted large-scale canvases such as [...] *Journalisten*, 1925, like a collage.

Great artists are shown in their mi[...] work, such as an Otto Dix water-col[...] entitled *Eldorado*, 1927, a bar scene [...] warm colours but with his usual co[...] blooded treatment of his figures.

Then there are two paintings by Co[...]rad Felixmüller, *Saxophonspieler*, 19[...] and *Schaubudenboxer*, 1921, charac[...]ristic work by an important realist [...] aimed to reproduce exactly and with [...] little emotion as possible what he p[...]ceived.

George Grosz was never able to [...]flect the bestial reality he saw wit[...] emotion and embitterment. Only a dr[...]ing of his and two sets of prints are [...] show in Munich.

Just over 100 exhibits represent mo[...] 50 artists, so the individual painter [...] only be represented by so few works [...] he plays his part in the kaleidoscope [...] Berlin realism but fails to indicate [...] individual importance and true outlo[...]

Representation of individual artis[...] not the issue. What matters is to sho[...] Munich public what made (and co[...]nues to make) Berliners tick.

They are critical, wide-awake and [...]listic, and even though the exhibition [...] only a small and fragmentary kalei[...]scope of Berlin art, it shows what [...] city once stood for: a role of which [...] other German city can divest it.

Maybe Munich will get the messag[...]

Walter Fe[...]

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 17 April [...])

The man who changed the face of Hanover


Bernhard Sprengel ... sense of challenge. (Photo: Karin Blüher)

Industrialist, art collector, music lover and patron of the arts Bernhard Sprengel is not a man given to grand words, so he won't have had any to say on his 85th birthday.

Sprengel, a freeman of his native Hanover, is a man of action, not words, and for decades has been a familiar sight at arts events in the city.

He has changed the face of Hanover, giving it what a city cannot hope to gain more than once in a century: a standing of its own in music and the arts.

When he donated his art collection to the city 15 years ago all he had to say on the subject was: "Bernhard Sprengel as a Hanover man has left Berhard Sprengel the collector with no choice but to donate his collection to the city."

Much has happened since 1969. In June 1979 the Hanover Art Museum, including the Sprengel Collection, was opened by the lakeside in the city centre.

It houses the city's collection of modern art and the important collection donated to Hanover by Bernhard and Margrit Sprengel.

Over the years he and his wife have made further donations to the museum, which has now been renamed the Sprengel Museum as a fitting tribute to his patronage of the arts in the city.

This decision by the city council marks the end of narrow-minded party-political disputes and emphasises the importance of the Sprengel collection and of the DM2.5m he has donated toward the cost of the museum.

His work has finally been given public recognition by political bodies. It has been marked by a systematic approach and by the collector's spirit of pursuit.

He has thoroughly enjoyed being able to offer the city something special, such as 20th century art, top-flight musical performances and an artistic experience for many.

Services to the arts is a pallid concept in view of the passion with which he and his wife put together a collection unequalled anywhere in the country.

They haven't just amassed works of art; they have collected them lovi[...] and with respect and a sure sens[...] quality.

That, arguably, is what has ena[...] them to put together such a distin[...] collection.

Passion, it is often said, is someth[...] irrational and entirely private. [...] Bernhard and Margrit Sprengel ha[...] long felt duty bound to make their p[...]vate preferences available to others.

"I always feel a sense of challeng[...]" he said on his 80th birthday, "when [...] public interest is involved."

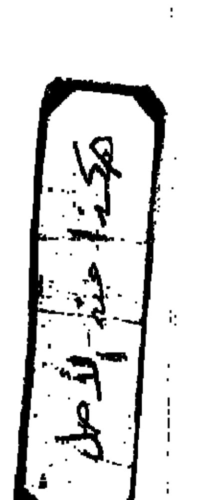
This can be taken to mean the eff[...] of the Sprengel Museum, with its m[...] visitors, the reputation of the cham[...] music concerts the Sprengels have h[...] for decades, and the encouragement [...]ven by the awards he has endowed.

They include the chamber mu[...] award and the Sprengel Award for c[...]sic and the representational arts, [...] which he has invested roug[...] DM200,000 in recent years.

In 1968, to mark the centenary of h[...] father's birth, he donated a six-fig[...] sum to promote promising youngsters [...] sport.

This less-known fact is yet anoth[...]

Continued on page 11



■ THE ARTS

Colouring black-and-white silent films: the rediscovered art

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The German silent film era is no longer marked white on the map, but film historians, or perhaps archaeologists would be a more accurate description, are still unearthing surprises.

About 10 years ago an important feature of silent films was rediscovered: a technique of colouring black and white film known as virage.

It was particuluarly effective with material in which black and white stood in sharp contrast to each other, and this alone was felt to be a major feature of early technique.

In reality it was more or less coincidental. Old prints that had been coloured had merely bleached with age, and until the mid-1920s virtually all footage was treated in this way.

The most widespread technique was to tint the celluloid in one colour, such as blue for night scenes, resulting in a black image on a coloured background.

Toning was a chemical technique used more seldom. It consisted of colouring the silver and resulted in a colour image on a white background.

Contemporary critics felt the virage technique to be so self-evident that they paid no attention to it. Lotte Eisner in her standard history of the German silent cinema, *Die dämonische Leinwand*, did not mention it at all.

It was later forgotten in much the same way as no-one now realises that in the Ancient World statues used to be brightly coloured.

There are two main reasons why it was forgotten. Worn-out prints were usually junked and recycled. Nitro film was sold to comb factories, or at least that was the generally accepted idea.

Later prints were no longer treated in this way. It was an expensive process and no longer fashionable after about 1925.

What wasn't sent to the comb factory has since fallen foul of erosion. Celluloid is not only highly inflammable: it also disintegrates.

Prints shrink and the virage colouring has only survived in exceptionally favourable conditions.

So it is a stroke of good luck when a print treated in this way turns up nowadays, especially when it is a print of one of the most famous German silent films, *The Cabinet of Dr Caligari*.

Robert Wiene's film has just been shown in at Düsseldorf Film Institute in a colour version reconstituted by the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz.

It was a print dating back to the early 1920s belonging to a collector in Montevideo. After protracted negotiations the Düsseldorf institute bought it and sent it to the Koblenz archives for treatment.

Helmut Regel, head of the motion picture department at the Bundesarchiv, faced a tough task. The print was in poor condition.

It had shrunk. The perforation was in ribbons. Only the colouring was still in good condition, and what made it so valuable was that some scenes had been coloured in both techniques.

They were both tinted and toned, or in other words two-coloured. The full film was recontituted by means of comparison with another virage print in London and two later black-and-white prints in Berlin and Munich.

Regel decided when to use which footage on the basis of a principle of textual criticism that gives preference to the more difficult variant.

The Montevideo print was felt to be superior because its virage treatment was the more complicated and unusual.

In the opening scene, in which the madman Francis tells the man next to him on the park bench about Caligari-Cesare's mysterious murders, a blue-toned image is shown on a yellow-tinted background. It too is the only print in which the titles are toned steel blue, whereas the Cubist German version is only to be found in the Berlin print. The colouring seems to be in keeping with what must have been widely accepted standards. Outdoor and illuminated indoor scenes are tinted light brown, whereas a blueish green signifies night and dark.

Dr Caligari (Werner Krauss) looks in horror at Cesare (Conrad Veidt) in 'The Cabinet of Dr Caligari'. (Photo: Atlas)

Jane's boudoir is shown in a pink that is not entirely satisfactory in the new print.

Virage colouring was intended to help the cinemagoer understand what was happening, but it didn't always work. The celluloid was tinted at the printer's, and at times it was slapdash work.

The combination of blue and gold in the opening sequence doesn't seem to have any special meaning, especially as it is repeated in a later, insignificant scene.

The Koblenz archives have faithfully restored all the incongruities in the original print.

Enno Patalas's colour version of Murnau's *Nosferatu* cannot claim to be as authentic. No original colour print of the 1920s silent classic is known to have survived.

So Patalas, who premiered his version at the Berlin film festival, exercised restraint and coloured only the key scenes. Night scenes outdoors ae tinted blue, indoor lighting scenes honey-yellow and a number of open-air daylight scenes green.

The bizarre, expressionist world of Dr Caligari conveys an impression that is, by and large, friendlier in the reconstituted original colour.

The ghostlike goings-on in *Nosferatu* appear more dramatic when tinted blue.

Using the virage technique now on old film material is extremely speculative, given that prints such as the Montevideo Caligari are unlikely ever to turn up again.

All one can hope for is an approximation of the version seen by cinemagoers in the early 1920s.

Enno Patalas accordingly feels he is merely On the Road to Nosferatu, as he has entitled his blow-by-blow account of the reconstruction.

Given the dilemma, he has one artful consolation. It is that "no colour version can lay claim to authenticity, but black-and-white ones can't either."

Paul Behrens

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 April 1984)

Continued from page 10

[...]spect of what Bernhard Sprengel means by the public interest.

He is a factory-owner's son and law graduate with a lifetime in business (the family firm is a chocolate company). His sense of public spirit has always been accompanied by the love of the arts he learnt from childhood.

In 1969 he was said to have done as much as he could by donating his collection to his native city. He has since done much, much more.

He has continued his work as a patron of the arts, commenting critically on occasion but always in a productive manner.

He still very much retains his concern for what he sees as the public interest at the age of 85.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 17 April 1984)

Did McLuhan get the message wrong?

Marshall McLuhan, who died three years ago, was a controversial figure. Was he a charlatan or a genius? Views still differ.

His media philosophy was undeniably fashionable and a topic for discussion by intellectual at parties. But on one point he was definitely right.

Television has changed the world, and not by what it broadcasts but by virtue of its very existence. The medium is the message.

Yet the further we progress into the media explosion era, the clearer it grows that the new world will differ from what McLuhan envisaged only a few years ago. He felt the enormous potential of the new electronic media would lead for the first time in history to a a genuine international public opinion.

Entire societies would communicate with each other. Everyone could take part and share in others' experiences. The world would shrink in perceived size to a global village.

But he seems to have been wrong. In reality the opposite has happened. The more media there are, the less publicity and public opinion there is.

That can be seen from the dearth of debate on what is currently available in the media market.

In the 1950s, before TV swept all before it, everyone talked about the radio play broadcast the night before or the film networked at local cinemas.

The radio play has been thoroughly ruined by TV. Only a dedicated minority still tune in. They listen intentionally but are still very much on their own.

Desperate attempts to make the radio play new and more attractive have led merely to experiments without practical consequences.

TV has not done the cinema much good either. The number of cinemagoers has plummeted, and what is worse, they are all from one age group.

Few cinemagoers, if any, are aged over 30, while the picture palaces of yesteryear are no longer an inviting prospect of a shared experience about which to talk afterwards.

Most cinemas are boxes where pictures are poorly shown and cinemagoers are painfully aware that their role is mainly to part with cash at the box office.

Repertory cinemas, the last bastion of the cinéaste, have a somewhat special category of public. They effect a further separation.

In its early days TV was a talking point and focus of public opinion too. People talked with friends and at work about the TV play or the live show screened the evening before.

But those days are over now the broadcasting authorities have taken to mass production and living off the fat of the land.

Quality has taken a knock. The desire to provoke and make people think has been replaced by a misunderstood desire to strike a balance.

Reporting and drama have been smothered by administration. TV is increasingly forgettable.

Instead of devoting thought to its role in society and the specific facilities it has to offer, TV has taken to poaching in other pastures. There are far too many films shown that were never intended to be screened on TV.

This may be due in part to cost considerations, but it is also a result of mental inertia. TV as an *ersatz* cinema excites no-one; it is bland and lacking in interest.

It also deprives cinema of any opportunity of becoming again what it used to be.

At the videotheque on Monday mornings you can regularly see people returning five or more cassettes they have watched in solitude on TV over the weekend.

They have merely been numbed and diverted, and that is a trend that is sure to be heightened when the number of programmes broadcast has been multiplied by cable and satellite TV channels.

When everyone has seen something different the evening before, TV will forfeit its lat claim to be a common talking point.

The system of one-way communication will have achieved perfection, leaving one wondering what the TV critic is to write about in the paper the next day.

Pressure of competition may arguably improve programme quality. A wider range of channels may make it possible to cater for minorities.

But Marshall McLuhan's vision of the global village will still have been mistaken. In the electronic village there will be no community spirit, merely a collection of individuals, each with a Walkman glued to their ears and eyes.

Ekkehard Böhm

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 10 April 1984)

■ MOTORING

Boardroom problems at Daimler-Benz

Daimler-Benz is generally felt to be a showpiece of German industry. It is a name that stands for a steady increase in turnover and profits regardless of economic trends.

The company's products embody the virtues of German workmanship. Staff and shareholders in equal measure bask in the reputation of the corporate identity, symbolised by the Mercedes star emblem.

Daimler-Benz thus stands for the finest of the fine in German industry, so the last thing one would have expected from the Stuttgart company was the news that the board of directors was at loggerheads.

Yet the representatives of the various groups on the supervisory board, or upper tier of the two-tier German management system, have been on bad terms with each other for some time.

More than once spirited attacks have been launched on the other side from outside the closed doors of the Daimler-Benz boardroom.

It began at the end of last year when a successor had to be found for board chairman Gerhard Prinz, who had died unexpectedly of a heart attack in his mid-50s.

For once there was a choice of suitable candidates for the post of chief executive, which might otherwise have been good news, but on this occasion it proved problematic.

Trouble also occurred because attempts were made to colour the choice as a party-political one, which was definitely an untoward development.

One candidate, financial director Edzard Reuter, happened to be a Social Democrat. It is a family tradition. His father was the legendary Berlin mayor Ernst Reuter.

R & D director Werner Breitschwerdt was given preference, which will not have been due to Reuter's party-political affiliation.

Reuter was brought on to the board by chief executive Joachim Zahn, at whom many charges may be levelled but not that he was markedly Social Democratic in outlook.

Breitschwerdt was eventually appointed by the votes of shareholders and the company management on the supervisory board, whereas staff representatives favoured Reuter.

Breitschwerdt took on the job without any preparation and can now be said to have been an undisputed success, as even erstwhile critics will readily concede.

Hardly had the dust settled and the strong words been filed in the company records but a further clash occurred. It was in mid-March when the time came to choose a successor to Werner Breitschwerdt as R & D director.

What ought to have been a routine appointment again proved an exception to the rule. Staff representatives on the board voted against Dr Rudolf Hörnig, whose name was unanimously put forward by the management.

Dr Hörnig is currently in charge of the private vehicle side of research and development at Daimler-Benz.

A two-thirds majority is needed to confirm the appointment of a board member, whereas a straight majority is all that is required in the case of the chief executive. So this time the new director failed to make it at the first attempt.

Arbitration began. The legal position is that in the final analysis the supervisory board chairman can use his casting vote to break a tie if need be, so the outcome seems clear.

But decisions reached on this basis are bound to ruffle a number of feathers and not be conducive to a cordial working atmosphere in the boardroom.

The disputes in the Daimler-Benz boardroom prompt two questions. The first is whether the atmosphere on the board has really deteriorated, with all that must entail for the company.

The second is what inferences must be drawn and conclusions reached from what has gone on at the Stuttgart company.

The first question can be answered with a brief flashback. There have often been disputes, tough clashes even, at the top in Daimler-Benz, as in any other company.

There were almost legendary clashes between Joachim Zahn and Hanns-Martin Schleyer, who was later abducted and murdered by urban guerrillas, on policy with regard to capacity.

Zahn was the more cautious of the two men and chose to rely on long-term trends. Schleyer favoured brisk expansion. Zahn's policy was extremely successful. No-one can say whether another approach would have been more successful.

Zahn was not always on the best of terms with his supervisory board chairmen Hermann Josef Abs and Franz Heinrich Ulrich.

Tension also occurred at a time when leading German industrial dynasties still held major shareholdings in Daimler-Benz and sought to exert influence on the running of company affairs.

The current supervisory board chairman, Wilfried Guth, was on the best of terms with chief executive Gerhard Prinz, who served the company in this capacity for a mere three years.

So tough disputes and strong words on company and staff policies are nothing new and nothing out of the ordinary, especially as opponents have in the end almost invariably settled for the best interests of the company.

It remains to be seen whether this will be the case in the present instance. The staff representatives' attitude has come in for criticism, with staff directors even being accused of obstruction.

They themselves claim to have been motivated solely by objective considerations. The seem to have accepted without hard feelings the fact that Breitschwerdt prevailed on the strenght of the limitations, from their point of view, to staff representation on the board.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

General conclusions may be reached from the fact that boardroom disputes have been given a wider airing. In both cases information was leaked to the media, with newspapers, magazines and TV competing for coverage.

Deliberate indiscretions can be used for policy purposes by both sides of industry, as the Spethmann case at Thyssen has lately demonstrated.

We will never know for sure what effect such leaks really have on policy decisions, but there seems to be no doubt that they will come in for increasing publicity even though, at least where supervisory board members are concerned the parties are committed to discretion.

Bad habits have long been widespread in party politics. They now seem to have made headway in company boardrooms. Viewed in this light, company affairs are increasingly becoming public affairs.

Wolfgang Helmer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 April 1984)

Makers say car demand is in a slump

General-Anzeiger

Demand for cars in Germany is lower than at any time for two years, according to the Motor Manufacturers' Association.

Both in March and in the first quarter of 1984 the number of new cars was higher than in the corresponding periods last year, when demand was slacker.

But the March figures were lower than February's. Neither exports nor domestic sales remained stable. The industry has started wondering why, especially as the trade in commercial vehicles is also slack.

Sales of heavy goods vehicles have picked up as the economy gets under way, but the slight decline in demand for private cars in export markets has not been offset by brisker trade in trucks.

The industry has been quick to voice fears that plans to make catalytic converters compulsory in new cars might make people chary of buying cars right now.

The March figures, it feels, show how right such fears were. Car sales must be brisk and stable if economic recovery is to stabilise the economy and boost the labour market.

One job in seven in the Federal Republic of Germany is still dependent on the motor trade.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 18 April 1984)

New issue of Porsche shares is heavily oversubscribed

Porsche shares, said Klaus Mertin of Deutsche Bank, are not an investment for people who would be inclined to take out comprehensive motor insurance.

He was spokesman for the consortium of banks that launched the new equity. The others were Bayerische Vereinsbank of Munich and Landesgirokasse of Stuttgart.

But his words went unheeded. At an asking price of DM780 per DM50 share the new issue of 420,000 shares was oversubscribed eightyfold and a maximum of two shares per person was allocated.

Yet there was truth in his words of warning. Porsche, the Stuttgart motor manufacturer, may be in fine shape right now but the risks faced by a specialist carmaker are incalculable.

A new model could be a flop. Much depends on the dollar-deutschemark exchange rate, as most Porsches exported go to the United States.

All investments in the stock market are a risk, but that is particularly true of Porsche stock.

At present no-one seems to see any prospects of risk, only opportunities. At the asking price the DM21m in stock will raise DM327,600,000.

That will net the company DM93m and the Porsche family DM234m, and with only 420,000 shares on offer the issue was bound to be oversubscribed.

Deutsche Bank has over one million customers with portfolios and the other two banks have their customers too. Many of their customers who would not normally buy stocks and shares have made inquiries.

Even directors of other banks are reported to have made unsuccessful inquiries to the three issuing banks for Porsche shares for themselves.

Only a select few of the trio's customers can expect to be allocated the new blue chip. One each would entail too much red tape; lots will have to be drawn.

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

The run on Porsche shares has been amazing, with orders for several million having been placed before an issuing price had been posted.

Japanese and American investors have been keen to buy into the Stuttgart company at any cost.

The shares are preference shares without voting rights, but that doesn't seem to have upset anyone.

Maybe Porsche fans have been keen to own a Porsche share to frame and hang on the wall. Whatever the price, it will still be cheaper than the car.

Porsche is a name that has the attraction of something new and exotic. Rational considerations are tinged with the irrational.

The asking price of DM780 may bear some relation to the share's value. Prices of DM1,100 on the first day of trading, May 4, don't.

Dealings in the new share are wide open to speculation, and speculation is as risky as driving a Porsche if you can't handle a fast car.

The three issuing banks can't complain. The publicity has done them a power of good. Others will need to find new shares of their own to launch.

If they did, there would be keener interest in venture capital all round. So Porsche could unwittingly set a trend.

That hasn't been the intention. The issue was made because some members of the family wanted to sell out.

There is certainly no shortage of companies in Baden-Württemberg that could well go public.

Bolke Behrens

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 19 April 1984)

■ ETHOLOGY

Puck and Schopf pass Skinner Box test with flashing lights and flying colours

Can animals count? It's an age-old controversy, with many experimental findings, some of which have been taken to mean animals do have an abstract concept of numbers.

This conclusion has in particular been reached from transfer experiments of the kind in which animals have responded to numbers by repeating a specific action the appropriate number of times.

But it was reached prematurely, says Ella Seibt of the Max Planck Institute of Ethology in Seewiesen, Bavaria.

Birds, and they include pigeons, are particularly suitable for experiments of this kind because they peck away at grains.

That is invaluable because they only need to be rewarded grain by grain, so they aren't full up and no longer interested in the experiment in next to no time.

They remain hungry, and motivated, for longer than might otherwise by the case, and pecking is a way in which they can indicate their ability to distinguish numbers.

The birds don't need to be taught to peck at their food, and the habit can be transformed into an act of counting by means of training.

There can be no doubt whetever that animals can distinguish different quantities of different items.

"The quantities," says Frau Seibt, "can consist of optically perceivable objects, such as dots or lights that are shown to the animal either simultaneously or consecutively.

"They can also consist of numbers heard in the form of sequences of acoustical signals between which animals distinguish in accordance with their number."

There can also be no denying that animals are capable of acting out numbers by repeating a specific action a certain number of times.

That can even occur in nature. The males of an African species of lark rattle with their wings instead of singing, and each verse consists of a specific number of wing-beats.

Yet neither the ability to perceive a number nor the ability to act a number out proves an animal to be truly numerate.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Man too can register accurately at a glance an assortment of dots without counting them — provided the number is not more than seven or eight.

Oddly enough, seven is the highest number animals have been found capable of counting up to.

"It could be," Frau Seibt says, "that animals perceive a number not as a quantity but as an overall quality, in much the same way as people — and animals — recognise a triangle, rectangle or pentagon without having to count corners.

"Acting out numbers could likewise be something they do in accordance with a time scheme or rhythm. People can similarly grasp a rhythmic sequence of notes and repeat it without sparing a thought for the number of notes."

In experiments such means of outwitting the aim of the test can be ruled out by avoiding regular patterns of any kind.

But there may be other modes of perception to account for animals' seeming ability to count that we are unable to follow.

It would be overhasty to assume they are conversant with the abstract concept of numbers merely because no other explanation is available.

Assuming a bird is taught to respond to a "two" it has seen by pecking twice and then to respond to a "four" by pecking four times, it ought to be able to give the right answer to a "three."

But it can't. It is at a loss what to do. If it had grasped the principle it would have pecked three times in response without needing to be trained again to do so.

Frau Seibt trained two pigeons, Puck and Schopf, to respond to a "two" with three pecks and to a "three" with two pecks.

A Skinner Box was used in these experiments. It is basically a closed box in which the bird is shielded from external influences and forced to concentrate fully on the task in hand.

In one wall of the box, arranged at head height from the pigeon's point of view, there were nine lights in three rows of three, as in noughts and crosses.

These lights could be switched on and off individually. On either side of the them there was a pecking plate and, beneath it, an opening to the food store.

What the birds had to learn to do was to register how many lights were switched on, peck that number of times on the left-hand plate, then peck one last time on the right-hand plate.

This extra peck was devised to rule out coincidence. The birds had to get it right to be rewarded with a bite to eat.

Two or three lights were flashed on in ten different arrangements each to ensure that the birds did not simply register a specific pattern rather than the number.

Two and three lights were not switched on in a regular sequence either, so each time the birds had to look carefully and see which number came up.

Puck and Schopf, the two pigeons, completed two series of tests. Each series consisted of 50 tests, each test of 100 individual tasks.

In the first series they were rewarded for pecking twice when two lights were switched on and three times when three lights were switched on.

In the second series, carried out a month later, they were taught to peck three times when two lights were switched on and twice when three lights were switched on.

The findings were just as had been expected. The two pigeons learnt the one lesson as readily and as well as the other.

In both series of tests the number of times they got the answer right was higher than the number of times they got it wrong, and the distinction was so definite as to be statistically significant.

The second series of tests, combining different numbers perceived and repeated, could hardly be claimed to be the result of the birds having a grasp of numbers.

The point of the experiment had thus been proved. Repetition of a perceived number is merely a matter of training, and if the trainer wants a wrong number, then a wrong number it will be.

Another interesting finding was in connection with the time the birds took. Their breaks were checked in the various series, which took varying lengths of time.

Breaks were checked regardless whether the two pigeons came up with the right answers or not. Break patterns were found to relate to the number of pecks.

The birds may thus be assumed not to work along mathematical lines. Each set of pecks seems to have its own rhythmic pattern and to represent a separate act.

Yet the experiments do show that even though pigeons may not be able to count in any real sense of the term, they can still distinguish numbers and repeat them.

Puck and Schopf in their Skinner Box showed signs of definite eating habits as well as behaviour patterns in respect of numbers.

Their eating patterns had consequences both for the course of the trials and the interpretation of their results.

They are equally hungry and keen to eat as much as possible in as short a time as possible, and they bear this strategy in mind even when they have already come across a source of food.

Trials at the Max Planck Institute in Seewiesen showed that in spite of being keen to eat they retained an inclination to explore and experiment; it varied only in accordance with their degree of satiation.

This was certainly true of pigeons in the Skinner Box. Even once they had found out how to solve the task and gain access to their food they still kept experimenting to see if there wasn't an even more effective approach.

Trial and error was, after all, the method by which it arrived at the initial solution.

This claim can be demonstrated in experiments. A pigeon that has been trained to peck twice will do so in a certain percentage of cases.

If the solution is suddenly changed and three pecks are required, two pecks no longer achieves the desired result. Yet the pigeon initially pecks twice even more insistently.

It steps up the frequency of the pattern that had proved effective, showing that it could have done even better if it had not rung the changes so much beforehand.

It might, of course, have been able to do better beforehand, but it didn't want to.

Walter Frese

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 April 1984)



Puck, the calculating pigeon, putting one and one together.

(Photo: Max-Planck-Gesellschaft)

How thirsty young lips are guided to the horn of plenty

Mammal young must from birth find their mothers' teats and suck at them. Rabbits, like many mammals, are born deaf and blind.

Their eyes and ears are slow to open. They are extremely helpless in their movements to begin with. Suckling is easier said than done.

Their mothers are only available for feeding once a day for between two and four minutes. That is all the time the young have in which to fill their bellies.

The speed with which this operation is conducted is presumably aimed at preventing enemies from being attracted.

They young are given no assistance in feeding, but during the brief operation the mother presses milk from her teats.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Research scientists at Munich University department of medical psychology have identified chemical substances known as pheromones that guide the young.

Pheromones are chemical substances secreted by an animal that influence the behaviour of others of its species. In this instance they guide the young to their mothers' teats.

Hudson and Distler in Munich bred

Continued on page 14

■ EDUCATION

Pick 'em out or kick 'em out: opinions clash over crowded universities

German universities are overcrowded. Overcrowding is normally associated with students. But the fact is that over the past 20 years there has been a five- or six-fold increase in the number of teaching staff.

Berlin's Senator for Higher Education, Professor Wilhelm Kewenig, says: "We expect too much from too many." His solution is to increase competition and standards.

He was one of the delegates at a conference in Berlin which discussed, among other things, the introduction of an interim university examination to eliminate students at an intermediate stage.

Other delegates included the Hamburg Higher Education Senator, Hansjörg Sinn, plus other politicians, civil servants, trade unionists and businessmen.

Sinn thinks that the university system as it is currently constituted is reasonable. He said organisational changes should not be made until discussion is complete on what should be done to change the system.

The political change in Bonn appeared to have created traditonalists from reformers and reformers from traditionalists.

Difference of approach that became clear in Berlin include a series of ques-

Frankfurter Allgemeine

tions about the role of universities and the whole education system.

Some unionists and businessmen see the universities role as predominantly one of serving industry. Universities, so the argument runs, should have less freedom to decide what they want to do.

There should be specific obligations. When times are good, they should supply the labour market with qualified people and when times are bad they should take pressure off the job market by acting as an academic waiting room.

But others disagreed. The university vice-chancellors defended their independence, stood up for the priorities of the education system and insisted on the right of the universities, even in difficult economic times, to decide what should be done, and over what time span.

The question is: what is to become of the the less capable if an intermediate filtering-out system is introduced? And what will be the price?

The issue revolves round an intermediate examination after a certain period, what form this might take, and what the legal consequences might be. Various proposals have been submitted.

There is already an examination which comes between the fourth and the sixth semesters. But this has been no great hurdle for those on the way up.

Some think it should be made tougher so those who failed would leave university. Those who passed would go on to vocation studies at a technical institution or to a course of broader studies along general lines such as the British liberal arts.

This intermediate examination could also be increased in status to count as a final examination in its own right. A diploma would be issued, but what worth it would have is anybody's guess.

The teachers' and scientists' trade union rejects on principle shorter studies.

Hamburg Senator Sinn's idea is that a selection process should take place after six semesters following a discretionary examination.

Those who believe in the universities as a means of solving the problems of the labour market cannot also believe in a shortening in the length of study.

There is much in favour of the growing tendency now for people first to launch out on employment and then embark on their academic path.

Behind this is the belief that the number of better-paid jobs has nothing to do with the capabilities of the teacher and the taught, but is limited exclusively by the capacity of the job market.

This point of view thinks it would be best if schools and universities did not make selections at all, but left the process to the market place.

Opponents of this included Kewenig and Theodor Berchem, president of the standing conference of German vice-chancellors. Both regard the trend of selection according to performance not as an annoying compulsion but as the legitimate task of the education system. Equality should exist at the beginning but should not be the aim.

In the final analysis, what divided one position from the other was the amount of raw material, in the form of students, needed for the country to maintain its international performance.

Those who believe that the depth of talent is limitless must also believe that everyone has the right to study. That everyone doesn't is, basically, only explained by the capricious nature of society.

Some people are not able to fulfil themselves because of this caprice and are forced to do things like work.

But those who accept that there are limits to the pool of talent speak of selection rather than of shoving people out.

By the time students are at the overcrowded universities, limits to talent have usually shown themselves, and a selection system ought to take advantage of this by ensuring that selection is made early enough to avoid disappointment and overtaxing of students.

What clashed in Berlin was the old positions that have been known for years. What has altered is not the arguments but the number of students.

Konrad Adam

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 April 1984)

Thirsty lips

Continued from page 13

rabbits in a plastic structure to study the young animals' suckling habits systematically.

Their first surprising finding was that from the second day of life young rabbits prepare for their mother's arrival.

About an hour or two before the mother is due back the young emerge from the nest and huddle close together as they wait.

As soon as their mother arrives they are visibly excited, stretching out their heads. During feeding the mother keeps absolutely still.

The young thrust their snouts deep into their mother's fur, repeating the action until they find a teat. It takes them only a few seconds.

The Munich scientists have proved by a number of experiments that pheromones help the young to find their way.

Different parts of the mother's underbelly are taped and covered. If only the teats are left untaped, the young don't bother to start looking for them.

But if only part of the rest of the mother belly is left untaped, they start looking, with characteristic plunges of the head.

If the tape extend to the edge of the teats the young rabbits find them but don't start sucking at them.

Differences in temperature between the teats and other parts of the mother's body can be ruled out, as can unspecific smells, such as the mother having licked her teats beforehand.

The quest for the teats is guided by skin scents, and a particularly high concentration of scent (or possibly a second pheromone) prompt the young to start sucking.

The Munich research scientists are convinced the substance they are trying to identify is a genuine pheromone. The response it triggers is the characteristic darting movement of the young rabbit's head.

The substance is secreted by rabbits that are not pregnant and not suckling, especially in summer. But in pregnant animals its quantity increuses regardless of the time of year.

It peaks at birth and slowly declines during the following five weeks, the decline gathering momentum if the young are separated from the mother a week after birth.

Special sex hormones are probably responsible for the output of this particular pheromone, the Munich scientists say.

Young rats, cats and dogs are also guided by scents in looking for the mothers' teats, but it has usually been assumed to be a metter of saliva or amniotic fluid.

The surprising finding that young rabbits can smell out the teats within seconds and from birth prompts comparison with similar findings in respect of human babies.

Some years ago scientists at the department of experimental psychology in Oxford discovered that new-born babies reacted differently to brassiere slips used by breast-feeding mothers than to unused slips.

By the time they are six days old they can distinguish between their mothers' brassiere slips and those of other women.

Are they too guided by pheromones that help them to find the nipple? The Munich scientists plan to take a closer look at this question.

Regina Oehler

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 April 1984)

Euro computer network aims to aid research across borders

DIE WELT

Representatives of European universities and research institutes have, together with a computer firm, formed an international computer network.

The European Academic and Research Network (EARN) is intended to help exchanges of scientific and technical data through a hook-up of computers in various parts of Europe.

In Germany, an organisation is being founded to use the system, the *Verein zur Förderung eines Deutschen Forschungsnetzes*, or DFN society.

Bonn Minister for Research and Technology, Heinz Riesenhuber, said: "It is something entirely new for the Federal Republic when representatives of university research, the major research institutes, the Max Planck Society, the Fraunhofer Society, plus industry, agree to a joint undertaking."

The aim of the DFN society will be to establish the preconditions for the establishment, operation and use of information and communications sytems for research.

One thing is clear: only combined projects will be able to keep costs moderate if needs of science are to be met through data processing.

Expensive computer centres are becoming constantly more essential to solve involved problems with special demands, and complex software is becoming ever costlier to maintain.

The new society aims at helping keep costs moderate by spreading the use internationally.

When the planned network is operating properly, the need for special regional equipping will be eliminated.

Users of the German network will include the Bundespost, universities, technical universities, and public and private research institutions.

In the opinion of specialists, there will be difficulties at the beginning in bridging distances and adapting some computer systems which are not compatible. Steps are being taken to alleviate problems.

Expected uses of the system include microelectronics; use of computers for designing machinery; civil engineering; architecture; ship, aircraft and car making; high-energy and plasma physics; decentralistion of hard- and software for robots; the picture processing for data banks.

Possibilities that will open up include not only world-wide cooperation between research groups, but also closer interdisciplinary connections between industrial research and central and local government.

Therefore, the German research network is essential for scientific cooperation.

Harald Watermann

(Die Welt, 14 April 1984)

■ MODERN LIVING

The eternal march of the Pied Piper of Hamelin

The Pied Piper of Hamelin, whose fairy-tale feat is said to have been accomplished 700 years ago this summer, may not stand up to strict historical scrutiny.

But he is as popular as ever, and the old city on the Weser is celebrating the anniversary in earnest.

What would Hamelin be without the Pied Piper immortalised by the Brothers Grimm? It certainly wouldn't be as well-known, although it would still be a gem among Germany's mediaeval towns.

On 26 June 1284 the Pied Piper is said to have led 130 Hamelin children out of the town, never to be seen again, in revenge for the city fathers' refusal to pay him for freeing the town from a plague of rats.

The tale has been included in nearly every collection of fairy tales since the Brothers Grimm as a parable of the consequences of human evil and greed.

It can even be found in books read by Japanese children, complete with illustrations showing the Pied Piper playing his flute as he leads off a procession of round-eyed children.

Hamelin owes to the Piper the fact that its name is known all over the world, and its councillors today are well aware of the debt of gratitude they owe to their legendary celebrity.

They have even gone ahead and decided on the exact date 700 years ago, although the date (for one) is disputed



ttenfängerhaus (Pied Piper House).

and due to be discussed by a congress of experts who are to confer in the city in October as part of the anniversary celebrations.

There have been doubts about the Pied Piper for decades. All that is sure is that 130 people mysteriously disappeared in 1284 and that their disappearance preoccupied Hamelin people for ages.

But such contemporary records as survive fail to go into greater detail, so no-one knows exactly what happened.

There have been all manner of interpretations over the centuries, the Brothers Grimm fairy tale being the most striking one.

The true story is probably less horrifying. Historians say it is probably that 130 young people were persuaded by a recruiting officer to leave Hamelin with him and help to colonise the East.

This debunking has done Hamelin's popularity no harm, and celebrations to mark the 700th anniversary are being held on a large scale throughout 1984.

They are an eloquent tribute to the value of a man who may not have existed but whose name is so intimately associated with that of Hamelin that fairy tale and reality have long been inseparable.

Why, after all, should the mysterious Pied Piper not have marched through the narrow streets with their slanting half-timbered houses, followed by a procession of dancing children?

There are no limits to the visitor's flights of fancy as he strolls round the *Altstadt* of Hameln, to give the town its modern German name.

If your imagination needs a more powerful stimulus, then you can see the old tale enacted in an amateur dramatic performance at midday every Sunday from mid-May to mid-September.

Performances are being held outside the Hochzeitshaus, a magnificent mediaeval town house that is a showpiece of the city.

It was here that Marshall Tilly and his Imperial generals are said to have decided to march on Magdeburg during the Thirty Years' War.

Other examples of this Low German variety of Renaissance architecture are to be found all over the *Altstadt*.

There is the Dempterhaus on the Markt, the Leisthaus in Osterstrasse, now part of the local history museum, and the Rattenfängerhaus, or Pied Piper's House, the facade of which is felt by many to be the finest of them all.



The Pied Piper still at work in Hameln. (Photos: Stadt Hameln)

Alongside these magnificent buildings there are many picturesque old half-timbered houses that take your breath away. Entire streets look as though they had survived centuries unscathed.

Their survival is not such a matter of course as may seem the case. Hameln not long ago had ambitious slum clearance plans for the *Altstadt*.

All the tumbledown half-timbered houses were scheduled for condemnation and demolition, and that meant virtually a clean sweep.

Their place was to be taken by concrete and modern flat-roofed buildings to show that Hameln was more than willing to do the 20th century justice.

Fortunately, only a handful of such mistakes were made. The council, the borough surveyor and local people soon came to realise that quality of life was partly a matter of living conditions.

The trouble taken has been well worth while. Transforming ramshackle streets into sound groups of houses in the original style costs a fortune in cash, patience and commitment.

Bonn and the *Land* of Lower Saxony have contributed toward the cost. Benefit is derived by visitors and by *Altstadt* residents who feel at home in the lovingly restored old streets.

Visitors are advised to park outside the city walls. The *Altstadt* is a pedestrian zone apart from one or two access points for residents.

Those who visit Hamelin this year will have no opportunity of avoiding or escaping the Pied Piper and his anniversary celebrations.

There will be something for everyone, from sports clubs to marksmen, from the historical congress to the baking of a gigantic Pied Piper's pie.

During the main festival week in June the town will have a distinctly mediaeval look. A procession is planned that will present the onlooker with the Pied Piper and a wide range of other German fairy-tale and legendary figures.

There will be a Pied Piper market and funfair and, on 26 June, a special literary tribute to the Pied Piper by Pavel Kohout, the Czech writer who lives in Austria. It will later be available in book form and is Kohout's tribute to a saga that has always fascinated him.

If the pleasures of the palate are more to your liking, you too can be sure of a bumper mediaeval feast within the city walls.

The menu served in the Rattenfängerhaus, for instance, is an eight-course meal laced with specially brewed beer and fruit schnaps.

At the end of the meal a drink known as a *Rattenkiller* will be served. It is not as lethal as the name suggest but it should certainly settle the stomach.

If you tire of the hue and cry, make an outing into the surrounding countryside. The quiet woodland of the Weser hills is extremely restful.

It also has a fair assortment of wild animals, and not just Springe sow park, a reminder of the days of the kings of Hanover.

And if you still fancy the idea of taking in more historic architecture old and new, there are striking contrasts to be seen a mere 10 minutes away from the city.

One is Schloss Hämelschenburg, another Weser Renaissance highlight in a valley leading down to the river. The other is Grohnde nuclear power station.

Grohnde may seem out of place in this mediaeval background, but that is the price of progress. *Walter Bajohr*

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 30 March 1984)